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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL USAGES OF THE INDIANS OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

By JOHN R. SWANTON

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL USAGES OF THE INDIANS OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

By John R. Swanton

INTRODUCTION

114 [121] In Bulletin 73[1] I reviewed the history of the Indian tribes which constituted temporary or permanent parts of the Creek Confederacy, and extended consideration to some of the peoples beyond with which they had intimate dealings, the tribes of Florida, and the Chickasaw, even including a brief mention of the Choctaw. This work was mainly an objective study, based upon Spanish, French, and English documents—the story of these tribes as related by the Europeans who came in contact with them.

A similar history of the same peoples from internal sources is, of course, impossible, the nearest approach to it being in the so-called origin or migration legends which contain but few facts of real historical value and must be assumed to apply only to a relatively recent period. A substitute for them must be sought in the archeological record left by the tribes as interpreted through an intensive study of the ethnology of their living representatives.

I have incorporated all of the Creek origin myths which I have been able to collect into the present paper. The rest of the space is devoted mainly to a discussion of the social and political organizations of the Creeks and their general social customs and usages.

The greater part of the present material was collected within the limits of the former Creek Nation, Okla., between September, 1911, and May, 1912, and on several shorter trips during the years immediately
115 following. In this connection I wish to render a most grateful tribute to George Washington Grayson, the most prominent and intelligent of all Creek Indians of his time, their representative in every important conference and at every crisis in their affairs, and at the time of his death chief of the nation. He was deeply interested in the history and ethnology of his people and did everything in his power to facilitate the work of all students of them. He rendered most valuable service to the late Albert S. Gatschet, and afterwards did everything in his power to assist the investigations of the writer, as well as to render his visits personally comfortable and intellectually delightful. For much of the included material Mr. Grayson is responsible, directly or indirectly, and the author wishes that it be con-

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[1] [See bibliography, p. 472, category 116. -- Analyst]

115 sidered in some degree a monument to him. Mr. Grayson had begun to compile a history of his life which would have been of the greatest interest to both the ethnologist and the historian, but unfortunately death intervened before it was well under way. By the courtesy of
[127] his family I have been able to incorporate a few items from that manuscript in the present work. I also wish to mention my indebtedness
[124] to Zachariah Cook, of Wetumka, Okla., also deceased, who acted as my interpreter during the greater part of my travels away from Eufaula, Mr. Grayson's home. Being interested in all of the matters under investigation, himself a former chief of Tukabahchee and hence presiding officer at the annual ceremonies, he proved of the greatest utility in many ways and was able to contribute largely from his own experience. Another leading informant was Jackson Lewis, a Hitchiti doctor who stood high in the estimation of both Indians and whites. Valuable material was obtained from Rev. William McCombs, a native Baptist missionary, who has ministered to Creek congregations for a great many years; from Legus Perryman of the old Okmulgee town, at one time head chief of the nation; from Judge James R. Gregory, also of Okmulgee; and from Ellis Childers, chief of Chiaha and formerly prominent in Creek national affairs. Many other Creeks and Seminoles contributed to the work directly or indirectly, among whom may be mentioned the following: Jim Star, Siah Gray, Jackson Knight, Alex Tecumseh, Barney McGillivray, John Goat, George Hill, Fulotkee, Billy Yahola, Koakotci, Yatihka Hadjo, George Hicks, Hannah Jones, Sanger Beaver, Wotkotci, Caley Proctor, Sawanok Hadjo, Nokosili, Pahoshobaiotci, Tal-mutcas Hadjo, Sam Laslie, Pin Hadjo, Sarty Deacon, Tob Hill, Dave Harry, Silas Jefferson, Dave Cummings, Tom Culler, George Holaby, William Sullivan, Washington Riley, Sarty Cowee, Kasihta Yahola, Goliah Jones, Big Jack, Woksi Hadjo, John Baker, William Fish, Caesar Buckle, Jim Sapulpa, Will Sapulpa, Joe Wotko, Winey Tiger, Sam Haynes, John Spott, John Buck, Billy Tiger, William Berryhill, John Davis, Philip Marshall, Tob Tiger, Yonasi, Katca Holahta, Tciban Hadjo, Billy Koker, George Colbert, Imala, Okusky Miller, Caesar Jones, and Naktcagotci. My data from the Alabama Indians living in Texas was obtained chiefly from two old people, George Henry and his wife Celissy Henry, and from my interpreter, Charlie Thompson. Some information on the Koasati Indians was secured from Jackson Langley, chief of the Koasati band in Louisiana, and from his mother, Salin Langley. The spelling of many of these names, particularly the native ones, is probably different from that which they themselves employed.

127 This material has been supplemented liberally by means of the older authorities on the tribes under discussion, particularly Adair, Bartram, Swan, Hawkins, Hitchcock, and certain anonymous French

127 writers, and this is particularly true of that part of the work dealing with customs like war which are now obsolete or obsolescent but could be made subjects of direct observation at the time in which they wrote. I have also made liberal use of the material published in recent years by Prof. Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, particularly his paper on "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town" (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, vol. II, pt. 2). His more extensive work on the Yuchi has been mentioned only incidentally, as the Yuchi are an alien tribe incorporated into the Creek Confederacy in comparatively modern times. Their culture, however, presents numerous features resembling that found among the Creeks, and Professor Speck's paper (Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1) should be read in conjunction with the material here presented. The valuable and hitherto unpublished Hitchcock material was placed at the disposal of the Bureau of Ethnology through the kindness of Mrs. W. A. Croffut, General Hitchcock's niece.

194 The following peculiar phonetic signs are used: ł, unvoiced l; ȧ, obscure a; tc, English ch; c, English sh; ^{n}, nasalization of the preceding vowel; x and x̣ (in Natchez), palatal and velar spirants; vowels generally have continental values.

NATIVE LEGENDS DEALING WITH CREEK HISTORY

Origin Legends

173 The origin myths of the Hitchiti and Alabama, minor components of the Creek Nation, have been given in Bulletin 73.[1] Here it is proposed to include the origin myths of the dominant tribe, that which constituted by far the largest portion numerically and from which came the crystallizing force which united them all into one political body. Who the Muskogee were and what towns they occupied has been explained in the bulletin above mentioned. The origin legend, or the origin legends, of these people differed to some extent in the several Muskogee towns, but there was a harmony between the various versions, perhaps brought on pari passu with the progressive unification of the confederacy. There are many references to this legend in very general terms, but several stories have survived, which, though usually fragmentary, shed most valuable light upon the nature of the original. The earliest of these legends is that given to Governor Oglethorpe by one Chekilli,[2] who is styled "emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks," and was probably a Kasihta. At any rate the legend seems to be from Kasihta sources. According
173 to the American Gazetteer, as quoted by Gatschet, "This speech
212 was curiously written in red and black characters, on the skin of a

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[1] Swanton, Early Hist. Creek Inds., Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 172-174, 191-192.

[2] Perhaps from Tcalaki ilitci, "Cherokee killer."

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young buffalo, and translated into English, as soon as delivered. . . . The said skin was set in a frame, and hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster."[3] Of course this means that pictures had been made on the blanket similar to those in the Delaware Walam Olum, to mark the various important events narrated by the speaker. It has unfortunately been lost, along with the accompanying English text, but a German translation of the English was preserved, and from this Doctor Gatschet had the legend rendered again into English and also into Creek for his "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians." This version, including one or two corrections made by Doctor Gatschet in one of his personal copies of the work, is as follows:

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"WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO 1735, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS:

"[Speech, which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by][4] Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks; Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head-chief of the Cussitaws, Tomechaw, War King; Wali, War-captain of the Palachucolas, Poepiche, King; Tomehuichi, Dog-king of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War-chief of the Okonees, Tuwechiche, King; Whoyauni, Head War-chief of the Chehaws and of the Hokmulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Osoches; Opithli, King of the Jawocolos [Sawokli]; Ewenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War-captain of the Eufantees [misprint for Eufaulees?]; and thirty other Warriors.[5]

"At a certain time the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The Earth opened and the Cussitaws came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the Earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so. Their children, nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

"They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river—came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years;

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[3] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 238.

[4] This bracketing is copied from Gatschet.

[5] The following transliterations and translations of a part of these names were furnished by the late G. W. Grayson and A. S. Gatschet: Anatitci, to wound; Ilitci, to kill, or putting something down; Osta, four (?); Tomotca, (a number of creatures) flying; Wali, from wahali, south (though Gatschet suggests the name of the coast province of Georgia, Guale, see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80 et seq.); Poepitca, to cause to win; Hoyahni, to pass by; Stimalakotci, somebody having caused something to come; Hopili, log.

but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain was a sound as of singing. They sent to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountains. It thunders to this day; and men are very much afraid of it. 173 539

"They here met a people of three different Nations. They had taken and saved some of the fire from the mountain; and, at this place, they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and of other things.

"From the East, a white fire came to them; which, however, they would not use. From Wahalle [the South] came a fire which was blue; neither did they use it. From the West, came a fire which was black; nor would they use it. At last, came a fire from the North, which was red and yellow. This they mingled with the fire they had taken from the mountain; and this is the fire they use to-day; and this, too, sometimes sings. On the mountain was a pole which was very restless and made a noise, nor could any one say how it could be quieted. At length they took a motherless child, and struck it against the pole; and thus killed the child. They then took the pole, and carry it with them when they go to war. It was like a wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and of the same wood.

"Here they also found four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed their virtues: First, *Pasaw* [pasa], the rattlesnake root; second, *Micoweanochaw* [miko hoyanidja], red-root; third, *Sowatchko* [sowatcko], which grows like wild fennel; and fourth, *Eschalapootchke* [hitci laputcki], little tobacco. These herbs, especially the first and third, they use as the best medicine to purify themselves at their Busk. At this Busk, which is held yearly, they fast, and make offerings of the first fruits. Since they have learned the virtues of these herbs, their women, at certain times, have a separate fire, and remain apart from the men five, six, and seven days, for the sake of purification. If they neglected this, the power of the herbs would depart; and the women would not be healthy.

"About this time a dispute arose, as to which was the oldest, and which should rule; and they agreed, as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay which is yellow at first, but becomes red by burning. They would then go to war; and whichever Nation should first cover its pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of their enemies, should be the oldest.

"They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered their pole first, and so thickly that it was hidden from sight. Therefore, they were looked upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest. The Chickasaws covered

173 their pole next; then the Atilamas [Alabamas]; but the Obikaws 539 [Abihkas] did not cover their pole higher than to the knee.

"At that time there was a bird of large size, blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter than an eagle, which came every day and killed and ate their people. They made an image in the shape of a woman, and placed it in the way of this bird. The bird carried it off, and kept it a long time, and then brought it back. They left it alone, hoping it would bring something forth. After a long time, a red rat came forth from it, and they believed the bird was the father of the rat. They took council with the rat how to destroy its father. Now the bird had a bow and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bowstring, so that the bird could not defend itself, and the people killed it. They called this bird the King of Birds. They think the eagle is also a great King; and they carry its feathers when they go to War or make Peace; the red mean War; the white, Peace. If an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him.

"After this they left that place, and came to a white footpath. The grass and everything around were white; and they plainly perceived that people had been there. They crossed the path, and slept near there. Afterward they turned back to see what sort of path that was, and who the people were who had been there, in the belief that it might be better for them to follow that path. They went along it to a creek called *Coloose-hutche,* that is, Coloose-creek, because it was rocky there and smoked.

"They crossed it, going toward the sunrise, and came to a people and a town named Coosaw. Here they remained four years. The Coosaws complained that they were preyed upon by a wild beast, which they called man-eater or lion, which lived in a rock.

"The Cussitaws said they would try to kill the beast. They digged a pit and stretched over it a net made of hickory-bark. They then laid a number of branches, crosswise, so that the lion could not follow them, and, going to the place where he lay, they threw a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth in great anger, and pursued them through the branches. Then they thought it better that one should die rather than all; so they took a motherless child, and threw it before the lion as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw the net, and killed him with blazing pine-wood. His bones, however, they keep to this day; on one side, they are red, on the other, blue.

"The lion used to come every seventh day to kill the people; therefore, they remained there seven days after they had killed him. In remembrance of him, when they prepare for War, they fast six days and start on the seventh. If they take his bones with them, they have good fortune.[6]

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[6] This war medicine is also mentioned by Hawkins. See p. 429.

"After four years they left the Coosaws, and came to a river which they called *Nowphawpe*,[7] now *Callasi-hutche*.[8] There they tarried two years; and, as they had no corn, they lived on roots and fishes, and made bows, pointing the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-stones, and for knives they used split canes.

"They left this place, and came to a creek, called *Wattoola-hawka-hutche*,[9] Whooping-creek, so called from the whooping of cranes, a great many being there; they slept there one night. They next came to a river, in which there was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatunka-river*.[10] The next day they reached another river, which they called the *Aphoosa pheeskaw*.[11]

"The following day they crossed it, and came to a high mountain, where were people who, they believed, were the same who made the white path. They, therefore, made white arrows and shot at them, to see if they were good people. But the people took their white arrows, painted them red, and shot them back. When they showed these to their chief, he said that it was not a good sign; if the arrows returned had been white, they could have gone there and brought food for their children, but as they were red they must not go. Nevertheless, some of them went to see what sort of people they were; and found their houses deserted. They also saw a trail which led into the river; and, as they could not see the trail on the opposite bank, they believed that the people had gone into the river, and would not again come forth.

"At that place is a mountain, called *Moterell*, which makes a noise like beating on a drum; and they think this people live there. They hear this noise on all sides when they go to war.

"They went along the river, till they came to a waterfall, where they saw great rocks, and on the rocks were bows lying; and they believed the people who made the white path had been there.

"They always have, on their journeys, two scouts who go before the main body. These scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a town. They shot white arrows into the town; but the people of the town shot back red arrows. Then the Cussitaws became angry, and determined to attack the town, and each one have a house when it was captured.

"They threw stones into the river until they could cross it, and took the town (the people had flattened heads), and killed all but two persons. In pursuing these they found a white dog, which they slew. They followed the two who escaped, until they came again to the white path, and saw the smoke of a town, and thought that this

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[7] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 245.

[8] A misprint for Tallasi-hutche.

[9] *Watula*, sandhill crane; *haki*, sound, noise; *hatchee*, creek, river.

[10] Owatúnka River.

[11] Cf. *afuswa*, thread; *feskitá*, to sprinkle, scatter out.

173 must be the people they had so long been seeking. This is the place
539 where now the tribe of Palachucolas live, from whom Tomochichi is descended.[12]

"The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded; but the Palachucolas gave them black drink, as a sign of friendship, and said to them: 'Our hearts are white, and yours must be white, and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk, and show your bodies as a proof that they shall be white.' Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk; but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion, and buried it under their beds. The Palachucolas likewise gave them white feathers, and asked to have a chief in common. Since then they have always lived together.

"Some settled on one side of the river, some on the other. Those on one side are called Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; yet they are one people, and the principal towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Nevertheless, as the Cussetaws first saw the red smoke and the red fire, and make bloody towns, they cannot yet leave their red hearts, which are, however, white on one side and red on the other. They now know that the white path was the best for them: for, although Tomochichi was a stranger, they see he has done them good; because he went to see the great King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and hear his talk, and had related it to them, and they had listened to it, and believed it."[13]

173 Doctor Gatschet has already discussed the Kasihta line of migration as unfolded by Chekilli in the above narrative.[14] I will merely review it briefly. The muddy river spoken of early in the narrative might well have been the Mississippi, for "Muddy River" was a name given to it by the Creeks. If this is so, however, the red river which they afterwards reached could not have been the Red River of Louisiana. In later versions of the legend the origin of the Creeks is traced to the historical Red River, and perhaps this may be the result of an attempt to localize the red river of the Chekilli legend. The first place to which a name is given is "Coloose-hutche," but the interpretation contained in the text, "because it was rocky there and smoked," is not traceable to any known Muskhogean tongue. "Hutche" is of course the Creek hätci, "river," but the balance of the word has a striking resemblance to a common abbreviation of the Choctaw Oka lusa, "Black Water." For this reason Brinton has suggested that the name referred to the Black Warrior River of western Alabama, though the Black Creek of Walker and Winston Counties, a tributary of the Black Warrior, would correspond more

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[12] Tomochichi was chief of the Yamacraw tribe, settled where Savannah now stands when Oglethorpe established his colony. See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 108-109.

[13] Gatschet in Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 41-51. An earlier translation had appeared in Brinton's Lib. Aborig. Lit., vol. iv, pp. 244-251.

[14] Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 93-103.

closely provided the former name has an Indian origin. With this name should probably be correlated that of the "Caluça" tribe mentioned by Ranjel. Biedma and Elvas speak of a Caluç or Caluça province, but this was west of the Mississippi and evidently had nothing to do with the one to which Ranjel refers, though the chroniclers themselves may have confused the two. The latter was in the neighborhood of the Chickasaw, and the Chickasaw chief gave the Spaniards guides to take them thither. It was said to be "a place of much repute among the Indians," and was described as "a province of more than 90 villages not subject to any one, with a savage population, very warlike and much dreaded, and the soil is fertile in that section." Unfortunately we have no intimation as to the direction in which it lay with reference to the Chickasaw. I believe that the tribe mentioned in these terms was identical with a comparatively insignificant body of Indians of the same name found by the French Louisiana colonists of 1699 and after, westward of the lower Mississippi and described by Du Pratz.[15] They were associated with the Houma Indians, who were a branch of the Chakchiuma, Ranjel's Sacchuma.[16] Both were in the same general region in De Soto's time.

The next point reached by the Kasihta was "Coosaw," evidently the old Coosa town on the river which still bears its name, between Talladega and Tallahassee Hatchee creeks. Afterwards they came to a river called "Nawphawpe, now called Callasi-hutchee." Gatschet rightly identifies this with a creek known as Naufawpi which runs into Uphapee Creek, an eastern affluent of the Tallapoosa, but he fails to notice that "Callasi-hutchee" is evidently a misreading of "Tallasi-hutchee" ("Tulsa Creek"), this region having been occupied by the Tulsa Indians. "Wattoola-hawka-hutche," "Whooping Creek," is a small northern affluent of Big Uchee; a larger one farther east is still called Wetumpka; and "Aphoosa pheeskaw" must have been a small creek between Wetumpka Creek and the Chattahoochee. The next river encountered, although unnamed, was evidently the Chattahoochee itself, and the Creeks followed this down to the falls at Columbus. Near the latter place they are supposed to have crossed and destroyed a town occupied by people who flattened their heads. Afterwards they went on down to the place below the falls where the Apalachicola were living in the year in which this speech was delivered, 1735, and they made peace and formed an alliance with the Apalachicola tribe.

The astonishing thing about this entire narrative is the closeness with which the movement can be followed. As we know positively that the Kasihta had then been in the country over 200 years we must either suppose that the line of migration had been relocalized by later

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[15] See Swanton, Ind. Tribes of Lower Miss. Valley, Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. [illegible] and [illegible].

[16] Ranjel in Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, p. 132.

173 story tellers or that the Creeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation, but we know from several [211] sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 [101] or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta represented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.[17] This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground,"[18] and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

173 Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. 539 Milfort,[19] who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégy ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crĕck."[20] We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own tàstànàgis and its head tàstànàgi. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otciapofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for what availed a bow and arrows against the artillery of an army, feeble in numbers indeed but warlike, intrepid, and led on by an insatiable thirst for gold, which this too trusting people had been unfortunate enough to display to their eyes.

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[17] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 215-254.

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 268.

[19] Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes differéns voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crĕck. Paris, 1802.

[20] On the title page of Milfort's work.

"Montezuma reigned then in Mexico; seeing that it was impossible to arrest the progress of the Spaniards, he called to his assistance the peoples which were neighbors to his states. The nation of the Moskoquis, known now under the name of Creeks, who formed a separate republic in the northwestern part of Mexico, and who had numerous warriors, offered him assistance, formidable for any enemy other than a disciplined army, such as that of the Spaniards commanded by Fernan-Cortéz.

"The courage of this warlike people resulted, then, only in its more prompt destruction, and was not able to save Montezuma, who lost his life and his empire, which was almost entirely depopulated. After the death of Montezuma and many other chiefs, the Moskoquis, considerably weakened by this terrible war, which they were no longer in a condition to maintain, determined to abandon a country which offered them in exchange for their past happiness only the most terrible slavery, to search for one which would secure to them the abundance and peace of which the Spaniards had just deprived them.

"They directed their march toward the north, and ascended in fifteen days as far as the source of Red River, that is to say a distance of about a hundred leagues. This river throws its waters into the northern part of America, across immense prairies, a fact which fixed their determination to follow its course. They traveled therefore eight days in this direction through a plain brilliant with the most beautiful flowers, and covered with wild animals, which offered them all the resources necessary for their existence. This country would have attracted them to settle in it for all time on account of its richness in every respect; but, fearing still for their safety, in a country which did not offer them any natural defense, they continued their journey. In the different excursions which they made along this river, they did not discover any other, not even a stream joining it; but they often found lakes and ponds, many of which had salt water; these were generally covered with aquatic birds of all kinds, notably such as are met along the shore of the ocean. The prairies were alive with partridges, hares, rabbits, turkeys, and other animals. There are such great quantities of this sort of game in these countries, that, when it is pursued from different points at the same time, and is forced to flee, the air is obscured and the land covered with it.

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"After having traveled thus for many days they found some groves where they made a halt. The young warriors were sent in different directions by the old men to examine the face of the country. At the end of a month they returned announcing that they had discovered a forest, on the edges of which, and at the same time along Red River, were fine subterranean dwellings. The entire nation set out; and, when they arrived near these caves, they discovered that they had been dug by bison, or wild oxen, and other animals who inhabited them because the earth there was a little salty.

"The Moskoquis found in this country the peace and quiet which they needed in order to repair the considerable losses which they had suffered in the Mexican wars. The colony having brought along a little corn which was left to it, it was planted immediately in order to assure them a means of subsistence. As they lacked the necessary utensils with which to make a settlement they made use of sharp stones, instead of axes, to cut and sharpen sticks of wood which they afterward hardened in the fire and used in cultivating the ground.

"When the Moskoquis had thus performed the first labors connected with their new settlement, they marked out a field, as large as was necessary for the common needs of the colony, and they surrounded it with old pieces of wood and stakes planted in the earth, in order to guard against the incursions of bison and other wild animals, which are very fond of corn. They then allotted to the families the ground contained in this enclosure, and sowed it for their sustenance. The young people of both sexes worked the ground together while the old men smoked their pipes. In this manner they lived for many years, enjoying perfect tranquillity, living by hunting and fishing, and on the products of their land, and regretting little their separation from the country where they had suffered so much. They would no doubt have remained there permanently if the unhappy fortune which seemed to pursue them had not compelled them to undertake a second emigration.

"They were discovered by the Albamos or Alibamons, who killed many of their people. Then the old men, the natural chiefs of the nation, called together the young warriors, and sent them on the trail of the murderers, but without success, because there was no unity in their operations, and they lacked a common chief; they then felt the necessity of selecting one. The old men of the nation assembled and chose the one among them who had rendered the greatest services to the fatherland, and they named him their Tastanégy or grand war chief. . . .

"The Moskoquis are very warlike and are not cast down by defeat; the day after an unsuccessful battle, they march to meet the enemy as courageously as before. It was after this arrangement that they resolved to continue their course toward the northwest. After

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having marched in this direction for some time, and crossed immense plains, they stopped in a little forest on the banks of the Missouri. There they encountered the Alibamons, whom they had pursued for a long time. They made preparations for the combat. The Tastanégy, or great war chief, arranged the march in the following order: The family of the Wind, from which he had been chosen, crossed the river in the first line; it was followed by the family of the Bear, and then by that of the Tiger [Panther], and so on. When this river was crossed, as the entire nation was on the march, it was necessary to take measures to avoid a surprise on the part of the enemy; and, in case of an encounter with the enemy, to protect all those who were unable to fight. For this purpose, the young people, with their war chiefs, formed the van; the old men the rear guard; those of an age less advanced were on the flanks; the women and the children in the center. They marched in this order until the moment when they encountered the enemy. Then the young men advanced alone with their Tastanégy at their head, and left the main body of the nation in a place of safety, and under the protection of the old men. By a stealthy and well planned march they surprised their enemy, and reached the caves which the Alibamons inhabited, before the latter were warned; and, not allowing them time to rally, they made a great slaughter. The fright into which such a surprise threw the foe caused them to abandon their dwellings; they fled along the Missouri, and rallied on the banks of this river, while the Moskoquis were gone to rejoin their countrymen, in order to march again on the trail of the enemy. The Alibamons, fearing a new surprise, had made their old men, women, and children march in advance, the young warriors forming the rear-guard; then they continued for some time to descend this river on its right bank. The Moskoquis, following their trail, caught up with them, and defeated them many times. The Alibamons, seeing they were thus pursued, had made the body of their nation pass over to the left bank of the Missouri, and had given them time to get some distance in advance, by delaying the march of the enemy by various skirmishes. But, fearing that they would be unable to resist their attacks, they took advantage of the darkness one night to rejoin their fathers, the Moskoquis not observing them. The latter not finding any enemy when day came and suspecting the course they had taken, crossed the river in order to pursue them again. After a march of some days they again encountered them, and forced them to accept a general battle in which the Alibamons were defeated and fled to the banks of the Mississippi. The Moskoquis, pursuing them with fury, forced them to throw themselves into the river, where a very great number perished. The young Moskoqui warriors, having thus weakened their enemy considerably, ceased to pursue them until they had been rejoined by the body of the nation,

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which followed by short stages. They remained eight days on the bank of this river in order to rest.

"During all this time the Alibamons had marched rapidly and gotten far in advance. The Moskoquis, trying to catch them, buried themselves in an immense forest which is on the left bank of the Mississippi; they camped, but, as there appeared to be no advantage in establishing themselves there, the old men decided to continue the march, and, for this purpose, to send the young warriors in pursuit of the enemy. They marched many days without meeting them; but at length, having discovered their tracks, they returned to report to the council of old men who decided that they would go in pursuit. They advanced again; and, after a march of some days, they came to the river Ohio, which the French call Belle-Rivière. They went up along the banks near the Wabash; and, perceiving that the Alibamons had crossed the Ohio, they also crossed it. When they were on the other side, finding a region with a very beautiful climate, and very rich in all kinds of game, they determined to establish themselves there, and fixed their dwelling in what is known as the Yazau country. As the season was much advanced, they ceased their pursuit, and contented themselves with sending some young warriors to try to discover the route which the Alibamons had taken. The Moskoquis, profiting by some caves which they found and some which they made, took possession of the Yazau lands, where they passed many years, and where the caves which they excavated exist to this day.

"The Alibamons had advanced as far as the banks of the river Coussa; not seeing themselves pursued, and finding themselves in a fertile country, they stopped there; but as they were always in fear of some surprise they sent youths to find out what had become of the Moskoquis and whether they were still pursuing them. Although the war which the Moskoquis waged at this time on the Alibamons had originated in an aggression on the part of the latter, who had killed Moskoqui warriors, the youths who had been sent to discover the Moskoqui had the imprudence to kill the first whom they met. The old men, having been informed of this new aggression, had them march against the Alibamons. The Moskoqui warriors, having learned that the country which their enemy inhabited was toward the rising sun, in a region where the rigors of winter are little felt, and where a great quantity of game of all kinds is to be found, resolved to pursue them a third time, and to populate that country, which is between the two Floridas. With this object in view they crossed the river Cumberland and the Tennessee,[20a] and followed from the north the river Coussa, on the banks of which the remains of the Alibamons had established themselves. The latter, having learned of the march of the Moskoquis, did not think it well to await them; they abandoned their position and scattered. Some went to seek an asylum among the Tchactas, and the rest repaired to Mobile, under the protection of the French, who had then just taken possession.

[20a] It is, of course, nonsense to speak of crossing the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in going from the Yazoo country to the Coosa.

"The Moskoquis, no longer finding enemies to fight, took peaceful possession of the country which they had just conquered. They established themselves on the rivers *Coosa*, *Tallapoosa*, *Chattahoochee*, *Flint*, *Ocmulgee*, little and great *Oconee* and *Ogechee*, and pushed their settlements as far as the river Savannah in Georgia, where the city of Augusta is now built.

"After having taken possession of this immense territory in this manner and having established their settlements, the youths were sent as far as Mobile in pursuit of the Alibamons; but, as they had placed themselves under the protection of the French, the French commandant endeavored to obtain peace for the Alibamons from the chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors. The chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors, not wishing to take it upon themselves to make a treaty without the consent of their nation, referred the matter to the decision of the council of old men; and, while awaiting this decision, they consented to a suspension of hostilities, promising not to kill any Alibamon before they had received the reply of their council, to which they even promised to recommend their enemies, on the express condition that the Alibamons, on their side, would equally respect the Moskoquis, and would avoid as much as possible frequenting the hunting grounds where they must pass the winter, marking out for both separate territories. This truce lasted six months, at the end of which time the old Moskoqui men went down to Mobile with their warriors; and, not only was peace made between the two nations, in presence of the French commandant, but the Moskoquis also agreed to unite the Alibamons with themselves; and, to induce them to do this, they gave them a piece of land on the river of Mobile, which is still called river of the Alibamons. The latter accepted the proposition, under the condition that they might preserve their customs and their usages. Then all of the separated portions were reunited and came to establish themselves on the river which has received their name, and form one little town which bears the name *Coussehaté;*[20b] and, since this time, they have formed an integral part of the Moskoqui nation, which took at this period the name of Creek nation. This name signifies source river, and is derived from the situation of the country which they inhabit, which, as has been shown above, is surrounded or cut by a great number of good sized rivers.[21]

[20b] The Coussehaté (Koasati) really constitute an independent tribe, though related, it is true, to the Alabama.

[21] For the real origin of this term see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 215.

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"About the same time an Indian tribe which had been almost destroyed by the Iroquois and the Hurons came to ask for the protection of the Moskoquis, whom I will now call Creeks. The latter received them among themselves and assigned to them a territory in the center of the nation. They built a town which is now very considerable, which is named Tuket-Batchet from the name of the Indian tribe. The great assemblies of the Creek nation, of which it is an integral part, are sometimes held within its walls. The warlike reputation of the Creeks, *and knowledge of the good reception* which they had given the Alibamons and the Indian tribe of which I have just spoken, rapidly spread among the other savage people of North America; and those among them who were too weak to resist the attacks of an enemy, came at once to beg for their help. The Tasquiguy and the Oxiailles [Okchai], who had experienced from their neighbors the same fate as the Tuket-Batchet, having learned of the good treatment which the latter had experienced from the Creeks, came to ask of them an asylum and protection. They were both received into the nation; lands were given them to cultivate, and they [the Tasquiguy] established themselves at the junction of the rivers *Coosa* and Tallapoosa, where they made a village which still bears the name Tasquiguy. The Oxiailles went ten leagues to the north and established their dwelling in a beautiful plain on the banks of a little river; they formed a town there to which they also gave their name.

"A short time afterward the remains of the little Udgi [Yuchi] nation, which had been partially destroyed by the English, also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who assigned them lands on the banks of the river Chattahoochee. A part of the Chickasaw nation also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Yazau, at the head of the river of the Wolves [the Neshoba]. They built their settlements there, extending them as far as the mountains of the Cherokee, behind which runs the Tennessee River, which takes its rise in these mountains, near Tougoulou, back of South Carolina, at a short distance from the source of the Savannah in Georgia.

"The immense extent of territory of which the Moskoquis, now Creeks, had taken possession after the flight of the Alibamons, provided them with means of receiving in this manner all of the peoples who asked the favor of them, and giving them lands to clear. They thus augmented their reputation and their means of sustaining it.

"Although the nations received by the Creeks became integral parts of them encounters took place in which they alone were concerned; but, in case of defeat, they were allowed to claim the protection of the Creeks who aided them either by their arms, or their mediations . . ."

[Here follows an account of the Natchez and their incorporation into the Creek confederacy; it contains little new information. Milfort also speaks of the admission into the confederacy of the Seminole, whom he treats as having been originally Florida Indians and Apalachee.]

"A short time after the American revolution, a part of the Savanhaugay nation, which inhabits the upper part of the river Savanha, which has taken the name of this nation, retired to the north to the banks of the Ohio, near Quintockey [Kentucky]; the other part retired among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Tallapoosa, near the Alibamons. This nation established itself there and has built a little town, and follows its own peculiar usages and habits, which differ much from those of the Creeks, a fact which does not prevent perfect agreement between them. Their interests are common; they go hunting together, and on the same territory; in case of war their warriors march together, and obey the same grand chief. However, when a Savanhaugay marries a Creek woman, he is obliged to follow the laws, customs, and usages of the Creek nation; which does not happen when a Creek marries a Savanhaugay woman.

"The Creek nation, being thus augmented by a great number of emigrations from neighboring nations, has acquired a unity which makes it now very powerful and capable of putting on foot a very strong and very warlike army. Finding itself the most powerful on the continent, it is that fact which regulates every year, in the grand council of the old men, the conduct which shall be pursued during the year, not only by the different nations of which I have spoken which compose it, but also that of the savage nations of almost all North America." [23]

The narrative given by Swan is very much disordered and is worth little, the origin of the Seminole, for instance, being set down as antedating that of the Creeks. Perhaps this part of the story contains a reminiscence of an original occupancy of southern Georgia by the Creeks and their subsequent retirement to the Chattahoochee and even to the Tallapoosa. His account runs thus:

"Men of the best information and longest acquaintance with these Indians give the following account of the rise and progress of the nation.

"Tradition, handed down from one generation to another, has established a general belief among them (which may be true), that a long time ago some strange, wandering clans of Indians from the northwest found their way down to the present country of the Seminoles; there meeting with plenty of game, they settled themselves in the vicinity of the then powerful tribes of the Florida and Appa-

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[23] Milfort, Voy., pp. 229-234. The true circumstances involved in the incorporation in the Creek Confederacy of the several tribes mentioned, so far as these are known, have been given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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lachian Indians: that for some time they remained on a friendly footing with each other. The new-comers were styled Seminolies (signifying wanderers, or lost men).[22a]

"These wanderers from the north increased, and at length became so powerful a body as to excite the jealousy of their Appalachian neighbors. Wars ensued, and finally the Seminolies became masters of the country. 'The remnants of the Appalachians were totally destroyed by the Creeks in 1719.'[23]

"In the process of time, the game of the country was found insufficient to support their increasing numbers. Some clans and families emigrated northward, and took possession of the present district of the Cowetas; having established themselves there, other emigrations followed, and in time spread themselves eastward as far as the Oakmulgee river, and other waters of Georgia and South Carolina, and westward as far as the Tallapoosee and Coosa rivers, which are the main branches of the Alabama. Here they were encountered by the Alabama nation, whom they afterwards conquered; and by restoring to them their lands and river, gained their attachment, and they were incorporated with the Creek nation. The Creeks became famous for their abilities and warlike powers; and being possessed of a well watered country, were distinguished from their ancestors (the Seminolies of the low barren country) by the name of Creeks or Muscogies.

"The kind soil, pure water, and air of their country being favorable to their constitutions as warriors, has perhaps contributed to give them a character superior to most of the nations that surround them.

"Their numbers have increased faster by the acquisition of foreign subjects than by the increase of the original stock. It appears long to have been a maxim of their policy, to give equal liberty and protection to tribes conquered by themselves, as well as to those vanquished by others—although many individuals, taken in war, are slaves among them; and their children are called, of the slave race, and can not arrive to much honorary distinction in the country on that account.[24]

"The Alabamas and Coosades are said to be the first who adopted the ceremonies and customs of the Creeks, and became part of the nation. The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out of Louisiana, and added considerably to their confederate body. And now the Shawanese, called by them Sawanes, are joining them in large numbers every year, having already four towns on the Tallapoosee river, that contain near 300 war men, and more are soon expected."[25]

[22a] Properly people who camp at a distance from the large settled towns.

[23] Probably Swan's informants had in mind the dispersion of the Apalaches by Moore in 1704. By referring to Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 109-129, it will be seen that the destruction was by no means complete.

[24] There appears to have been little truth in this statement.

[25] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 259-260.

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In his paper in volume 3 of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society William Bartram states that the Creek nation in his time consisted of about 60 towns, "thirty of which speak the *Muscogulge tongue*, and are the progeny or descendants of a powerful band of a nation bearing that name, who, many years since (on their nation becoming very numerous, and filling their native country with inhabitants, by which the game and other necessary produce of their country became scarce and difficult to procure) were induced to separate themselves from, and go in search of, new and plentiful regions. They directed their migrations eastward, leaving with great regret and difficulty their native land, containing their relations and friends, which was on the banks of a large and beautiful river, called the Red River, from great quantities of red stone, of which they formed their tobacco-pipes.[25a] Their migrations continued a long time, and under great hardships and embarrassments, they being continually attacked by hostile Indian nations, till at length they arrived at the banks of the *Great River*, i. e., that which they crossed, when they began to think of establishing a permanent residence; but, being yet assaulted and disturbed by surrounding nations, they pushed eastward as far as the *Ockamulge*."[26] In the narrative of his travels Bartram covers the same ground in fewer words, and adds that "they were obliged to make a stand, and fortify themselves in this place [Ocmulgee], as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes. Having formed for themselves this retreat, and driven off the inhabitants by degrees, they recovered their spirits, and again faced their enemies, when they came off victorious in a memorable and decisive battle. They afterward gradually subdued their surrounding enemies, strengthening themselves by taking into the confederacy the vanquished tribes."[27]

Nearer to the original is Hawkins's narrative obtained from Tussekiah Mic-co, evidently of the town of Kasihta:

"There are in the forks of Red river, (We-cha-to-hat-che Au-fus-kee,)[28] west of Mississippi, (We-o-coof-ke, muddy water,) two

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[25a] The Red Pipestone Quarry was in Minnesota and of course had nothing to do with the Red River of Louisiana.

[26] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 12.

[27] Bartram, Travels, p. 52.

[28] The Muskogee words used by Hawkins in this story and requiring explanation are the following: We-cha-to-hat-che Au-fus-kee (Wi tcati hātci akfáski, "water red river forks"). We-o-coof-ke (Wi ogufki, "water muddy"). Hi-you-yul-gee (Hayuya + âlgi, see footnote 30). Tote-kit-cau (totka likta "fire place," "where the fire burns," the busk fire). E-cun-ge-toh E-mis-see (Itcagita imisi "breath its holder or keeper"). Mic-co-ho-yen-ejau (miko hoyánidja "chief purgative"). Ancho-non (atcina "cedar"). Too-lah (tôla "sweet bay"). E-cun-li-ge-tuh ([illegible] "clan"). Noo-coose-ul-gee (Nokosi + âlgi "Bears" or "Bear people"—i. e., "Bear clan"). Mic-co-al-gee (Miko + âlgi "Chiefs"). Is-tau-nul-gee (Istanul + âlgi "Istanul (Spanish?) clan"). E-ne-hau-thluc-ul-gee (Heniha + lãko + âlgi "Big Henihas"). Thlot-lo-ul-gee (Lálo + âlgi "Fishes," "Fish clan"). Au-tus-see (Atássa "war-club"). To-pe-lau-e ([illegible]). E-cun-haigo (Ika halpi "head skin"). Ille chate (Ito tcati "red stick," "red wood," "red tree"). Chu-chu-sse (tcatcusi "my younger brother or brothers"). Chat-la-hau (tcilāhá "my elder brother or brothers"). Um-mau-mau-yuh (probably âmaʼ mayi "my tall, high, or grown people"; the ceremonial name of Coweta was Coweta maʼ mayi, "tall Coweta"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 225). Tuck-au-bat-chee (Tukabahtci). Au-lic-chul-gee (âlikten + âlgi "doctors"). O-chesee-hat-che (Otcisi hātci "Ocisi River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 218). Chic-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che (Tcikasa tálófa hātci "Chicka-town River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. [illegible]). Sau-va-no-gee (Sawanógi). Tote-kit-cau [illegible] (totka + lika + [illegible] "square-ground fire one only").

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mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh, and Chickasaws found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the Hi-you-yul-gee,[29] four men who came from the four corners of the world. One of these people asked the Indians, where they would have their fire, (tote-kit-cau). They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down around it. The Hi-you-yul-gee directed, that they should pay particular attention to the fire, that it would preserve them and let E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, (master of breath,) know their wants. One of these visitors took them and showed them the Pas-sau; another showed them Mic-co-ho-yon-ejau, then the Auche-nau, (cedar,) and Too-loh, (sweet bay.) (There are one or two other plants, not recollected. Each of these seven plants was to belong to a particular tribe (E-mau-li-ge-tuh).) After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came.

"The three towns then appointed their rulers. The Cussetuhs chose the Noo-coose-ul-gee, (bear tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (mic-cos,) and the Is-tau-nul-gee, to be the E-ne-hau-thluc ul-gee, (people second in command.) The Cowetuhs chose the Thlot-lo-ul-gee, (fish tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (miccos.)

"After these arrangements, some other Indians came from the west, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club, (Autus-sau.) They fell out, fought and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the Au-be-cuh at Coosau river. Here they agreed to go to war for four years, against their first enemy; they made shields (te-po-lux-o) of Buffalo hides, and it was agreed that the warriors of each town, should dry and bring forward the scalps (E-cau halpe) of the enemy and pile them; the Aubecuh had a small pile, the Chickasaws were above them, the Cowetuhs above them, and the Cussetuhs above all. The two last towns raised the scalp pole, (Itlo chate, red wood,) and do not suffer any other town to raise it. Cussetuh is first in rank.

"After this, they settled the rank of the four towns among themselves. Cussetuh, called Au-be-cuh and Chickasaw cha-chu-see (younger brothers). The Chickasaw and Aubecuhs, called Cussetuh and Cowetuh, chat-la-hau (oldest brothers). Au-be-cuh, called the Chickasaw Um-mau-mau-yuh (elders, or people ahead of them). Chickasaws sometime use the same expression to Aubecuh.

"This being done, they commenced their settlements on Coo-sau and Tal-la-poo-sau, and crossing the falls of Tallapoosa above Tool-cau-bat-che, they visited the Chat-to-hoche, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the Cussetuh

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[29] I have been told that Yahola and Hayuya were "very pure spirits" who presided over the annual ceremony or busk. Hi-you-yul-gee would be the plural of Hayuya. See p. 482.

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fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic makers (Au-lic-chul-gee) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats.[20] They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this they spread out eastwardly to O-cheese-hat-che (Ocmulgee), Oconee, O-ge-chee (How-ge-chuh), Chic-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che (Savannah), called sometimes Sau-va-no-gee, the name for Shaw-a-nee. They met the white people on the seacoast, who drove them back to their present situation.

"Cussetuh and Chickasaw consider themselves as people of one fire (tote-kit-cau humgoce) from the earliest account of their origin. Cussetuh appointed the first Micco for them [the Chicaksaw], directed him to sit down in the big Savanna, where they are now, and govern them. Some of the Chickasaws straggled off and settled near Augusta, from whence they returned and sat down near Cussetuh, and thence back to their nation. Cussetuh and Chickasaw have remained friends ever since their first acquaintance.

"During the late war between the Creeks and Chickasaws, Cussetuh refused her aid, and retained her long established friendship for the Chickasaws; and when the Creeks offered to make peace, their offers were rejected, till Cussetuh interposed their good offices. These had the desired effect, and produced peace."[21]

We now know that those versions of the legend which represent the Muskogee as having come as far east as the Georgia coast from which they were pressed back by the whites have better foundation in fact than was formerly supposed.[22] Bolton[23a] has shown that the location of the great body of Creeks on Ocmulgee River prior to 1715 was ephemeral, but there can be no doubt that some Creek tribes were elements in the population of Guale on the Georgia coast.[23b] As we have seen, Swan brings the Creeks into Florida and Gallatin had obtained a similar legend, perhaps through Swan himself.

"Their traditions say that they emigrated from the Northwest until they reached Florida, when they fell back to the country between the headwaters of the Alabama and Savannah Rivers . . . Those

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[20] Most Muskogee traditions recognize that the country into which they came was already occupied. Besides references in several of the myths here given, a contributor to Schoolcraft's first volume states that the "Creeks believed the land they occupied was held before their coming by another people of whom they had no definite knowledge, but not by other people than Indians and not by a more civilized people." They conquered these earlier occupants and the latter "wended their way south." This authority differs from many others in affirming that "the circular breastworks in their country they believed were built by themselves for protection." (Schoolcraft, Am. Inds., I, pp. 266-267.) Pope mentions a war waged by the Creeks with "a numerous Tribe of Seminoles, whom the Creeks after a long and bloody contest of 20 years exterminated, and re-peopled the deserted villages by slow emigrations from their own victorious tribes." He modestly places this event 10,000 years before his own time (Pope, Tour, p. 60).

[21] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pt. I, pp. 81-83.

[22] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 80-109.

[23a] H. E. Bolton, Spain's Title to Georgia, Univ. of Calif. Press, Berkeley, 1925, pp. 53-56.

[23b] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., loc. cit.

173 remaining in Florida were called the Seminoles, or Isti-semole (wild
539 men). The nation became a confederacy of tribes, speaking other languages, modifying somewhat the original Muskogee, but who, nevertheless, numbered seven-eighths of their whole number."[33]

A few references to this legend appear in the American State Papers and in other publications, but, with one exception, they add little or nothing to it, their value being purely confirmatory. The one exception is the statement attributed by Gallatin, to "the chiefs of the delegation, who attended at Washington in the year 1826," and who "agreed that the prevailing traditon amongst them was, that the nation had issued out of a cave near Alabama River."[34] Unless this was in reality the Alabama story[35] instead of that of the true Muskogee, it stands entirely by itself.

Practically all of the older Creeks retain some belief in a western
173 origin.[36] The place from which they came they call "the navel of the world," and it is now supposed to have been at Ikanȧ ła'foni, "the backbone of the earth," a name they give to the Rocky Mountains. There is always mention of their having crossed waters, and of the course of their migration having been supernaturally guided by means of a stick which they set up in the ground and which bent of itself in the direction they were to take. This stick is said to have been a ball stick, and it is often spoken of as red.[37] One informant explained the color by saying that the pole was made of cedar. Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, told a somewhat different story. According to him, when the Muskogee came out of the navel of the earth near the Rocky Mountains they had a red arrow which they shot a long distance in advance, marching in the direction of its flight until they had reached it. They repeated this action every day until they found the arrow lying pointing backward. At that spot they halted and established their nation.

173 Legus Perryman, formerly interpreter for the Creek chief Pleasant
539 Porter, and at one time chief of the Creeks himself, gave me the following versions of the migration legend, as told by the Tulsa and Coweta Indians, respectively:

"The people who were afterward known as Coosa or Tulsa Indians traveled eastward toward the rising sun until they came to a big water too wide to cross. They went back from this to a certain place and lived there a long time. By and by they came to the same water again but here it was narrow. The other shore was well wooded and pleased them, and they wanted to get over to it. Their leader, however, said: 'We ought to cross, but I am going to try an arrow.' If it landed on the other side he knew they could get over. He shot, therefore, and his arrow went into the woods. The people remained there until they had gotten together some boats and rafts on which they crossed in safety. Then they established themselves where they found quantities of game. After a while they began moving east again, and they did this at intervals, always in the same direction. At last they settled permanently, became very numerous, and established square grounds.

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[33] Gallatin, quoted in Ann. Rept. Smithson. Inst., 1885, part II, p. 211.

[34] Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., II, p. 95.

[35] For the Alabama origin myths see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 191–192.

[36] Early in the nineteenth century, according to the American State Papers (Ind. Aff., II, p. 571), four Creek chiefs denied that their people had come from the West and obtained their lands by conquest, but a misunderstanding is quite possible, and, besides, this testimony concerned their title to the lands of the old Creek Nation in Alabama and Georgia, a fact which they very well knew.

[37] In the oldest legend, as we have seen, it is represented as a war club (see p. 35).

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"One night, a long time afterward, a dance was held at which all persons were present except a newly married couple who were in some manner delayed. When these arrived at the square, late at night, they found nothing there but a lake. They remained on the shores of the lake watching and noticed that the birds which tried to fly across fell in and were drowned. One big crane, however, flew all the way over. It said 'koos, koos, koos,' and they thought that that was its name. As time went on this couple had children and their descendants formed another big town; and because the bird did fly over the submerged village in safety they named the town after it, saying 'We shall be called Coosas.' And in the town orations to-day their descendants, the people of Tulsa, begin by saying 'We are the Coosa people.'

"The Coweta say that they came out from under the earth and found the surface soft and muddy, difficult to travel upon. By and by it became dry and hard. They were on the top of a mountain from which they could see the setting and the rising of the sun. Then they debated whether to go toward the sunset or the sunrise but finally they agreed to go toward the sunrise. So they traveled eastward slowly, stopping a long time where the hunting was good and then going on again, until they came at last to a river. This river was very muddy and so wide that they stayed on its banks longer than anywhere else, and there they inaugurated the ball play. At last they made boats and crossed. Then they traveled on again eastward until they came to the ocean ('big water'). They found that the water of the ocean would come up and go out again, enabling them to collect oysters and other things good to eat, and they stopped there and lived on those products, being unable to pass beyond. They claim that they traveled side by side with the Kasihta, and some add the Abihka, which some deny. The place from which they started they call Ilafoni, 'the backbone,' and they identify this with the Rocky Mountains."

The following version of the migration legend was told by Ispahihtca, of the Kasihta town, a former chief of the Creek Nation,[27a]

[27a] See p. 231.

173 to James R. Gregory, by whom it was repeated to the writer in May, 1912:

539 "Some people anciently lived together in the west. In course of time they became so evil that they could find nothing pure in the world except the sun, and they determined to travel eastward to find the place from whence it came. On the way they became separated into three bodies. The first of these were called Chickasaw because on the morning when they were to set out they were the first to see the sun rise and said Tcika ha'sȧ [hitcika hasȧ], 'See the sun!' The second body said to the first Kohasita,[37b] 'Where is the sun?' from which circumstance they received the name Kasihta. The Chickasaw moved first, the Kasihta following them, but the third body of people had some difficulty in passing around a brier thicket and were left a long distance behind, so that the parties in advance began to call them Ko-aoita, 'Those that are following us,' whence the name Coweta.

"During their travels these tribes came to a great river which they crossed, and presently the Chickasaw entered upon a beautiful country where were small prairies abundantly supplied with strawberries and other wild fruits and having deep pools of water. Then the Chickasaw did not want to go any farther and said that they did not care where the sun came from. So they settled in that country, while the remaining bands held on their course. By and by the Kasihta, who were still in advance, crossed a river smaller than the first. On the other side they raised a mound, leaving a great chamber in the center in which to fast and purify their bodies. They left their women, children, and other noncombatants there and went on toward the east. Afterward, the Coweta arrived on the opposite side of the river and sent word over that they intended to cross and kill everyone in the place because the Kasihta warriors had not waited to have them join in the expedition. But among the Kasihta women was one who had a magic white stone or pebble, the mate to which was in the keeping of her husband among the warriors. By means of this stone she informed him of the serious state of affairs, and the Kasihta warriors immediately retraced their steps, cut switches, and, passing over to the Coweta warriors, whipped them severely. But they did not strike them with a weapon of war. They then told the Coweta to take charge of the mound, and, gathering together their own noncombatants, they went eastward once more.

"After the Kasihta had left, the Coweta made medicine and went inside of the great mound in order to purify themselves, but while they were there a Cherokee war party attacked the camp. Great was their surprise, however, when the Coweta warriors poured up

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[37b] Kō is not the usual word meaning "where?" but is probably an exclamatory particle.

from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great 173
slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the 539
great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws.

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and [526
they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta
challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for 631
having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of 829]
having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white."

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breathholder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

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earth being created, the second thing is water, the third the trees and grass, and the fourth the things having life.' Even down to the smallest things they were created.

"And, continuing, he said: 'A last day will come.' That is what he said to him. Continuing, he said: 'Fire will destroy this world, and when it comes the dead people will arise out of the earth and fearful things that were existing within it will arise out of it. Everything will gather together in the interior of the earth. At that time there will be no more death.

"'When that occurs I too will come.' he said. 'I shall come to seek those who have not killed anyone, and those who have not told a lie, people who are really humble, those who love people much, and persons who are unselfish, and persons who abase themselves. And when I take them up, "Take me up, too," the others will say, holding their hands up. Then those left on that day which is bright and hanging will be lost together.'[23]

"And when he departed they stood still looking about, and when they saw the rising sun, they wanted to see the place from which it came, and they started thither. And while they were on the way, they considered, supposing the sun to be hot, how they should light a fire with it. Then they took a stick of wood dried in the sun's heat and bored into it with another dry stick until it caught fire. Then they named the wood with which they had made the fire 'the slimy wood' (afo's'lipa'kfa—the slippery elm).

"Afterward they remained there four years, fasting for eight days [each year?]. When the four years were completed, providing themselves with the fire, they again set out toward [the sun]. And while they were still traveling east the Chickasaw stopped saying, 'My moccasins are worn out, and I will stop to mend them; even if you go on I will catch you.' 'All right,' he [Kasihta] said. He made a spring for him, by sticking his elbow down into the ground and turning it around four times. Having made a big spring for him, he said 'Stay here drinking this until you can go.' Then [the Kasihta] went away. But [the Chickasaw] settled there for good.

"When they came to the end of the dark grass they continued to obtain things for themselves.

"Whenever they stopped they remained there for four years; they marched with an advance guard moving about in front. When they saw the ocean and found that they could not go farther they stopped there. They rested by a large river. Then they learned that some people were living on the other side. They wanted to know what sort of people were living there and went near, when a fog covered them so that they were moving about in it and so stopped not able to see anything. They discovered that the strangers had something which smelt very good and they wanted it, and they considered how they could get it.

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[23] The material in the latter half of the first paragraph and in paragraphs 2 and 3 is, of course, from Christian sources.

"While they were considering over it they made a long mound and another round mound. They said that this action would give them help. When they were ready they caused a wind to blow on the people covered with fog living there, and the fog was cleared away. Then they killed [part of the stranger people] and took many captive and exterminated that town.[29] They built a town there of their own. While doing this they were in the habit of sending out guards. They made the guards go out for one year, and when those returned [who had been away during the war] and found that [stranger] people had been killed, they said 'You did not save any for us,' and they wept in anger at having been deprived of the opportunity to kill. The two men were projected across the river, hanging to the ends of arrows, and going along the stream they trailed [their enemies]. Presently they found two persons lying asleep who had been throwing up the earth into mounds. They killed them there and by so doing wiped away their tears. Then the locality was named 'Shoveling place.' After four years [the Kasihta] left their women and children together in that place and set out to get scalps. Not anticipating any danger the men all started out. The women continued to live there alone. Afterwards the Coweta people, following their trail, came to the big river and camped on the nearer side. Then they sent out scouts who reported that people were staying near by. Then they said 'We had better kill them,' and they said 'Watch them closely.' Watching them closely they discovered that only women were in that place. Then they went near and spoke to them. And they said to them 'What has become of the males?' They answered 'They went away to war a long time ago. It is now nearly four years since they left.' And [the new comers] answered 'They can not be alive.' But an old woman said 'The men are still alive.' Then they (the Coweta) said: 'Being an old woman she tells lies.' When it got dark that old woman put a stone into the fire, and when it was red all over she took it out and laid it down pointing in the direction in which the Kasihta had gone, and she stood upon it; and after she had stood there for a while she came back and said 'The men are alive.' Although she said so they did not believe her. And when they said 'She is lying' some of the women thought 'It is probably so,' and finally some married these men. The little old woman tried to dissuade them, and many obeyed her. After a time she said 'Now the warriors are near,' but they did not believe her. 'Now they are close by,' she said, 'Fix your-

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[29] From a note these people would appear to have been considered Yuchi.

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selves. Comb yourselves.' She kept on encouraging the whole town. When the warriors had gotten near to the town she went out to their camp and said 'Things have been thus and so while we have been settled here,' and she informed them about all that had happened. But when people had been to war it was their custom not to enter the town on their return too hurriedly. Therefore they waited some time to attend to [i. e., purify] themselves and then passed into the town. Then they held a council and said 'What shall we do with these men? If we kill them it will be of no benefit and they may be of use to us.' And while they were sitting in council they gathered the male Coweta together. Then they built a large fire and made them dance, pushing them down into the fire so that they jumped over it to escape. They did this for some time. They also took sticks and beat them on the front parts of their calves, and they cut off theirs ears, and they made a law of this.[38a]

"Then they continued to play tricks on the Coweta by putting strings of dog excrement around their necks. They said 'It shall be our law that if a man cohabits with a married woman his ears shall be cut off and also his nose. And if a person is whipped inordinately and he dies the leader of the whipping party shall be killed. And if a man cohabits with a married woman in the middle of the summer at the time of the big harvest when the busk is over, and the aggrieved party finds it out, if the man runs away and lives by himself for a whole year, in midsummer after the busks of all the towns are over, the man and the woman can not receive the penalty of the law.' Then they continued 'We have constructed a long mound and a round mound in order to protect ourselves. You must sit down and watch them.' So the tall Coweta were told. They also made a chief for [the Coweta]. And they used for this purpose the Fish clan. 'If you lose him by death you must consider for yourselves [how to replace him],' they were told. And there they made a tribe of the Coweta. Then they were told to live inside of the two mounds. And on top of these hollow mounds they drank ási every morning. And when the ási was cooked a great pan of it was set out before them at daybreak every morning. Every morning when it was taken they set it away for them. They established themselves there permanently as a tribe. They told each other what they had been doing. Then the Kasihta put a question to the Coweta, and they answered: 'We came along the trail on which others had gone. We came because we wanted to see what they were doing.' And the people said 'since it came (awit) afterward the tribe shall be named Awita,' and it was so named.

[38a] Having reference to the Creek laws against adultery; see pp. 346-354.

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"And, continuing the Kasihta said 'We came out of the center of the earth.' The Coweta answered 'We came out at the same place but, the root of a tree extending in front of us, we emerged only after a delay.' Then they learned that they had been created one people. And they said 'We shall have to return again the way we came, and when we reach the place of our creation we shall be annihilated.' The names of the two rivers near that town were Big River (Hatci Łako) and Confluent River (Hatc Afa'ski). 173 539

"There was a place for killing fish at that point; it was found out that it was a place to which fish would come. The Kasihta having found it broke off a pine limb and laid it upon a rock. And the Coweta found it afterward and broke off a black weed called ata'k la-lasti[39] and laid it down in the same place. Then the Coweta said 'I have found a fish-killing place.' The Kasihta said 'I found it first. I broke off a pine limb to mark it and laid it upon a rock.' And the Coweta said 'I, too, broke off a black weed and laid it there.' They wrangled with each other about it. Then they said to each other 'Let us examine the place.' And when they went to see the marks they found two lying there. When they had examined the matter they found two fish-killing places close together and one was abandoned to the Coweta. Near by was their own fish-killing place where they lived catching and eating fish. They continued there, beginning and carrying on things for their amusement. There they built their big house.[39a] They erected four structures which they called houses (tcuko). They placed one to the west, another across from this,[40] another toward the south, another toward the east,[40] and another toward the north. They made the length [of each?] eighty times the length of a person's foot and the breadth thirty times. And they made the measure of the arena between them eighty foot-measures each way. The round big-house stood toward the west.[40a] They constructed it with a pointed roof, and they covered it with pine bark stripped from the trees. They made only one door, looking toward the east. And they built a fire exactly in the middle so that when it was raining or snowing they could dance there. And in the one of the four houses which stood toward the west the miko of the tribe sat with his vice-chief (apokta). It was called the house of the mikos (mi'kalgi i'ntchuka). And those who sat in the house to the south were known as 'the owners of the white (ha'tki ipu'tcasi).' If the miko and vice-miko both died they appointed new ones. The one lying across toward the east was called the house of the women (hu'ktagi i'ntcuka). And that on the north side was called 'the house of the warriors' (tastanagalgi i'ntcuka). They 173 539 361

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[39] This has yellow flowers which appear at the time of the fall busk.

[39a] The ceremonial square.

[40] Probably by inadvertence the eastern structure is mentioned twice

[40a] The tcokofa or town "hot house."

173 539 [361] were their war talkers (inhulupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tàdjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[40b]

173 539 796 "And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obànga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[40c] (its obànga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obà'nga tcà'pko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obànga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[40d]

173 539 796 526 "[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

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[40b] See pp. 174-190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.

[40c] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 609.

[40d] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 546-614.

time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until 173
daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. 539
They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. 796
The distance between them in either direction was two hundred 526
yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.[40a]

"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, 173
and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some 539
time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,[41] was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved.

"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.[42] The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

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[40a] See pp. 456-466 for a description of the ball game.

[41] "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

[42] The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee yamasi is the word meaning "gentle."

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top of the bluff scolding at a dog in his own language. He became interested and went out. Presently he saw a Muskogee family sitting [by their dwelling] talking. When he got to the place he saw a great camp extending to the creek. The person to whom he went said 'Sit down' and he sat down. Then the Cherokee surrounded him and he sat still unable to do anything. They said to him 'What do you want?' and he answered 'I am here because I was directed to go and see the Cherokee chief. They said to me "When you reach Ikan tàpiksi (Level land), anywhere in that country you can obtain an interpreter." ' Then the Cherokee said 'The chief is living at a distance, but he will arrive four days after having been sent for.' Then he remained there as a prisoner.

"It was a custom of the Cherokee to send out scouts and as soon as they had come home ask each of them what he had learned concerning their enemies. They did so at this time, and he sat listening to them. And when the returning scouts had all gotten through they thought that nothing was the matter. While he was sitting there the returning scouts were all examined as to whether they had seen anything that might give concern to the town, and they finished. Then they examined them again saying 'Did you hear a shot fired?' and one said 'I heard one.' And each of the Cherokee said in turn 'I have not fired a gun.' Then they said to Good-child Chief who was sitting near 'Did you shoot?'

"He answered 'I did.' 'At what did you shoot?' they asked him. 'I shot at a deer' said he. 'Did you shoot near by?' they asked. 'I shot at him very near' he said, 'and I thought I hit him but I came here instead of going to see.' Then they said 'Let us go and see where you did this,' and they took him along. Presently he said 'I shot it here and it went on and died without going very far away.' Then they tried to find it and did so, and they brought it back. 'He has spoken the truth' they thought, and they watched him closely during the four days. At intervals the young men of the Cherokee came in whooping saying that the chief of the Cherokee was coming. On the fourth day he came and they prepared very large round sticks of wood. When all were in the house Good-child Chief and his interpreter were called in. Then his interpreter said to him 'Where the Cherokee are assembled to observe their customs sit still without paying any attention to them.' Then they said 'It (the council) is ready.' So the two went up and sat down. What the interpreter had said about the way they exercised their law was going to be carried out. One man danced the whooping dance holding the ax with which people were killed. He struck the ax into the ground between [the prisoner's] feet. After he had done this for a considerable time he twisted his breechclout to one side and pushed his buttocks toward the stranger's face. Although

Good-child Chief did not like this he could not resent it and remained seated. After the man had danced around for a while he stopped and sat down.

"Then they gave Good-child Chief permission to speak. 'Let him make known what he wants' they said. Then he said: 'Brothers, we have caused each other suffering for a long time. I was told to come and see the Cherokee chief.' [My people] said 'While our mother is the same and our father is the same we punish each other, and it has come to such a pass that even our children are inspired with terror. Hereafter it shall not be so. The white path shall extend from our doors,' my people said. 'Even if red is on that path we shall not think it is human blood,' they said, 'and even if we find blood near streams we shall not think it is human blood. We shall think thus. We shall think it is the blood of the many things that are to be found in the water,' they said. 'And afterward, if we find on the white paths that converge to our doors the blood of anything sticking, we shall suppose it is the blood of the many four-footed game animals that have it,' they said. 'And after this, if he (a former enemy) shakes hands with me he must smoke of my tobacco. If I shall see a cloud arising and hanging in the air, we will think, 'He is shaking hands with me,' they said. Then he handed to them white beads strung together which he had with him and said 'They said "This is the image of the earth island."'

"When this speech was ended the Cherokee chief agreed. And the Cherokee chief said to his men 'Take him to the place from which he came and leave him there.' And they conducted him thither and left him. Then he returned to his tribe. And he said: 'I have spoken to the Cherokee chief,' and he informed them what he had done. Then peace making spread and became general."

The old chief from whom the last two stories came informed Mr. Gregory that such traditions must be repeated in a certain manner word for word, for a mistake would cost blood. Yet, such a mistake has been committed either by the chief himself or by one of his interpreters, since we find some striking differences in detail. For instance, the item regarding the attack by Cherokee on the Coweta when they were living inside of the mound does not appear in Gatschet's version.

A curious modern note is introduced by one of my own informants who said that the Muskogee came from the west, out of "the navel of the earth," and moved eastward after the sun until they reached the ocean. Then it was said: "As long as you can't go all of the way around the earth you can not see the sun."

It is noticeable that all stories emanating from the Lower Creeks speak of their ancestors as having come up out of the ground at "the navel of the earth," the connection of the navel with birth

173 evidently having been responsible for this designation.[43] An old woman told one of my informants of the Okchai town that for a long time after mankind had come out of the ground great caves remained there. Once some Indians bearing torches entered these in search of bee martins. They found trails of human beings and could make out the marks of moccasins, but the cave people threw stones at them, they were afraid that their torches would be put out, and so they turned back. Another informant remembered a belief that men had come out of the water, but still others quoted "the old people" to the effect that mankind had come from above, and when we examine the matter we seem able to trace this type of origin myth to Tukabahchee. Alindja, an old and well-informed Tukabahchee Indian, told me the following legend:

173 539 "The Indians were sent down from the world above to some place in the west. They had with them the two principal busk medicines, the pasa and miko hoyanīdja, and among them were seven mikos. They also had fire. Originally there were two camps of them, but after a while one camp decided that they would return. They kept their intentions to themselves, however, until toward night. Then they said 'We are ready. We are going,' and up they went into the sky. By that time it was so late that the people in the other camp, among whom were the seven mikos, said 'We will go tomorrow.' But before morning one of their number died, and, as they could not leave the body in this world or take it with them, thay had to remain.

"After they had stayed in that place for a while they said 'Let us travel,' and they got up and started off. First they went toward the north, but after they had proceeded some distance they set a walking stick up in the ground. Forthwith it leaned toward the south and they said 'That must be the way we should go.' They set off toward the south, and presently they set up the walking stick again. This time it leaned toward the east, so they went east. They went on eastward for a time and set the stick up again. It remained exactly perpendicular and they said 'Here is the place,' and they settled there, having traveled across the whole world to reach it. The word is that our companions, our blood relatives, are in the world above. The chiefs who remained were to be the kings of this continent and they were the seven mikos of Tukabahchee town."[44]

This story was paralleled in its main outlines by another informant. 173 As I have stated elsewhere,[45] the origin of Tukabahchee seems to have been distinct from that of the Muskogee proper. According to a migration story collected by Tuggle and given in Bulletin 73 they marched south instead of east and claim to have been in Georgia when the white people entered the country. The latter part of this tradition is confirmed by Nuttall,[46] and if it is correct, as seems to be indicated in the case of some constituent elements of the nation, it would account for a tradition remembered by Zachariah Cook to the effect that they had migrated from the east and had crossed a ditch on a footlog which they placed across it with the greatest difficulty. After they were once over they could not get back. 173

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[43] In his communication to Schoolcraft regarding the Chickasaw Indians the agent of that tribe says that they did not know the origin of the artificial mounds in their old country and called them "navels." "They thought that the Mississippi was the center of the earth, and those mounds were as the navel of a man in the center of his body." (Indian Tribes, I, p. 311.)

[44] See p. 253.

[45] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 278. As also indicated in that work, the Tukabahchee had several special names. One of these was Isti ispokogi isti fâtcâciko toyayat, "Spokogi who deviate from the strict order or way of doing things." I have mentioned this in the place above indicated but unfortunately omitted the negative after fâtca. Another name applied to them, according to Mr. Grayson's notes, was Sakáfáki Tástánági, Isti Ispokoki toyayat.

Following is the Tuckabahchee origin myth as related to me by Cook who had it from a Creek Indian, now dead, known as Judge Nokosi. Judge Nokosi told him that it was fragmentary, and that the last person to know it in its completeness was an old man named Napoleon Yahola, who died before the Civil War. 173 539

"In the beginning the Indians came pouring out of the earth like ants. Those who got out first looked back, saw in what crowds the others were coming on, and said 'It will not be good. It must be stopped.' And it stopped. In those days they laid down the towaka (logs) about the stomp ground. After they had arranged these and were seated upon them—they were then in the country where later they built their towns—up came the tall Coweta and found them. The Coweta said 'Who are you?' 'I am the little Tukabahchee.' 'What have you?' 'I have only the miko hoyanīdja and my whoop.' The Tukabahchee miko held the miko hoyanīdja in his right hand. 'Let us hear you whoop,' said the Coweta. 'No.' 'Yes, let us hear you whoop.' The Tukabahchee behaved very humbly and refused to whoop for some time but finally they agreed in order to please the strangers. Then their leader arose, stamped upon the ground, and whooped, and the earth quivered as if there were an earthquake. After the second whoop the Coweta leader said, 'My friend, that will do,' but, having started, the Tukabahchee was obliged to complete the four cries. When he was through the Coweta chief said 'We will be friends. Here is my medicine; let us combine the two.' So they united the pasa (button-snakeroot) of the Coweta with the miko hoyanīdja of the Tukabahchee, and the combined medicine is the sawatcka.[47] Thereafter each used both.

"About this time two Ispokogis came down from above, approached the ball ground and saw that there were people there and that it was

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[46] "The Creeks entertain a tradition of coming from the west side of the Mississippi, and that, too, at so recent a date, as to have heard of the landing of white people on the Atlantic coast soon after their arrival."—Nuttall in Early Western Travels, vol. XIII, p. 365.

[47] Alindja, one of the best informed Tukabahchee, also stated that the pasa and the miko hoyanīdja were the two standard medicines, although he said that the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska or spicewood. See below. Nevertheless, by others the sawatcka is given as a third medicine, and this is the statement of Hawkins. (Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 79.)

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good, so they remained with the people. One of these Ispokogis made a dugout canoe, and, when it was completed, he got in and began floating up into the air. But, when it was some distance off, he looked back and saw all of the people standing still gazing after him. Then he said 'I can not leave them.' So he came back and, when he landed, the other Ispokogi lay down and died. The surviving Ispokogi remained with the people after that, and with reference to this event the word was 'There shall be a link of brothers, life without ending.' This meant that when one Ispokogi died there should always be another to take his place. Old Tukabahchee miko, who is known to have visited Washington, and who died on Red River about the year 1864, was the last Muskogee to preserve a knowledge of the identity of the Ispokogi. Theoretically there always is such a chief, but since the death of Tukabahchee miko the knowledge of him has become lost. This knowledge was anciently preserved by means of a certain council formed about the sacred fire in the busk ground."

Benjamin Hawkins had heard of this chief, for he says "They have, in this town, a Mic-co of another family, the Is-po-co-gee Mic-co, the ancient name of the town."

It is interesting to be able to add that we have some notes regarding the Ispokogi from that Tukabahchee miko above mentioned, recorded February 1, 1842, by Gen. E. A. Hitchcock. According to the story, as obtained from this source, seven persons of both sexes were sent down from heaven in very old times; later they attempted to return, but one of them, thought to have been a man, died, whereupon the others came back. They then sat down in a square and performed some ceremony which the Indians wished to learn. At first they were unsuccessful, but at last they discovered something about it, and the strangers then taught them how to make a fire and how to worship the Great Spirit. They also brought certain plates from heaven which they gave to the Creek chiefs. Colonel Hawkins, their former agent, said that these had come from the King of England, or at least from the British, but the Indians believed that they were from heaven and were to be worshipped.[47a] The new comers told them to make a new fire once a year by friction, after having extinguished the existing fire, and to thank the Great Spirit for his blessing; at that season they were to exhibit the plates. When this happened the Indians were using bows and arrows and lived entirely by hunting, but after a time they found some white people and from them obtained knives and other useful articles. At a similar early period the Tukabahchee met the Coweta. They smoked the pipe of peace together and agreed to an eternal friendship which they have ever since maintained, and all of the other Indians are obliged to look up to them.

[47a] Elsewhere Hitchcock says that some Indians had a tradition that they had been presented by a Spanish King, and this was probably not far from the truth.

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This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanidja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanidja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [47b]

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Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[47b] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

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A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atásá). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

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"'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilálgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

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In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[46]

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From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

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[46] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 516.

story is not, however, ancient, since it is a well-known historical fact that on the outbreak of the Creek-American war the Tukabahchee were hard pressed by other Upper Creek towns until the Coweta came to their assistance.

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Undoubtedly there were once myths similar to those told about the Tukabahchee and Coweta, to account for the friendships and differences of all the principal groups of towns in the confederacy, but not many have come down to us. The following fragment tells of the relations between the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali, the latter probably the most ancient Red Town among the Upper Creeks. It was related by an old Indian named Kasihta Yahola, since deceased, who belonged to Łapłako, a branch of Łiwahali.

"The ancestors of the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali were once in a fog or vapor which prevented them from seeing each other. The Łiwahali wanted to see the Tukabahchee very much, and finally the fog was blown away so that they could do so. For some time the Ispokogis (Tukabahchee Indians) would not speak to them. At last they said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the Hołiwahalis ("those who cut the war in two")'. Then the Łiwahali asked in their turn who the strangers might be and they answered, 'We are the Ispokogis and Tukabahchee.' Then said the Tukabahchee, 'All right, you shall be our younger brothers.'"

The following is told regarding the Tukabahchee, Atasi, and Łiwahali:

"Once, in ancient times, the Łiwahali became angry with the Atasi and determined to destroy them. But the Tukabahchee said to the Łiwahali, 'Don't do that. They might be of use to you in picking up spoons or something of that sort.' The Łiwahali persisted in their determination, however, until the Tukabahchee said, 'If you destroy them, you will have me on your back,' when they gave it up."

This story was perhaps evolved to express or explain the friendship which grew up between Tukabahchee and Atasi. In later times the former called the Atasi, "the carers of our medicine."

Another set of myths deals with the ancient town of Coosa and its offspring, although the latter are mentioned but seldom, the myth usually confining itself to a mere account of the origin of the mother town and an explanation of its name. One of these stories has been given already in the Tulsa migration legend.[illegible] Another informant said that Coosa was called Taloksû'mgi ("Town-lost-in-the water") by the Creeks, and that it had sunk into the water until nothing could be seen of it except the ball post. According to still another, the town was swallowed up by an earthquake. Two persons escaped by jumping into Coosa River and swimming to land. When they were found by people from other towns they were making little bows.

[illegible] See p. [illegible].

173 539 619 The place where this happened is said to be called "the rocky sunken place in the Coosa River." Owing to "some powerful attraction" no birds could cross at that point except one called the koskosa, and from this fact both river and town obtained their name. The last circumstance was also known to Jackson Lewis. A story related to the above was told by a Nuyaka Indian and is to the effect that the Coosa were a people found in the river of that name in vessels—which must have been canoes—carrying white flags at either end. They were taken out and made into a town by the Hickory Ground (Otciapofa) people who protected them. Therefore they came to be considered as the offspring of Hickory Ground.

173 539 The longest and best version which I myself obtained was related by an old man of Hilibi named Woksi miko and runs thus:

"An unmarried woman in the town of Coosa (Kosa or Koza) went to draw water from the spring and was afterward found to be pregnant. When her child was born it was spotted. Then her brothers and some of her relatives thought this was the offspring of a water tiger (wi katca), which the Muskogee now identify with the leopard, became angry with her, and wanted to kill it. But she had some old relatives who opposed them and finally prevailed. The busk ground and 'hot house' where they councilled about this stood near the river, and the girl ran to the water tiger and said 'There is an effort being made to kill my child, but they have not killed it yet.' Then the water tiger said 'Let those who are disposed to defend the child move away from the rest.' The woman told these what the water tiger had said, so they moved away from the town, and that night the water tiger brought on a great inundation which covered Coosa, with its square ground and all, but for years after people could see there the main timbers that braced the old tcokofa. The water tiger took the woman home to live with him. Then the few persons who were left alive came together and said 'We were once a great town but now there are very, very few of us and we are ashamed of having fallen off so in numbers (istá'kosi). Nevertheless let us get together and make another town for ourselves,' and they did so, establishing the town we now know as Tulsa (istalsosi).[48b] Those who were engulfed in the river did not all die, and afterward people could hear a drum beaten there when they were dancing and having their good times. There is now a whirlpool on the site of the old town and close to the river. Sometimes people used to see beams whirling round in this eddy, and occasionally men sitting upon them. No bird could fly over the whirlpool, and those which tried always fell into the center of it and were drowned. But there is a small bird with a yellow breast which seems to say 'koskoza' and this could fly across

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[48b] The first word seems to be a contraction of isti âlakosi, "many people ashamed," while the second is isti alsosi, "one (or a few) ashamed." The first is a pun on Kosa; the second on Tulsa.

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with perfect ease. Some maintained that the people beneath the water favored these birds and let them fly across. We name them from the noise which they make."

A version, differing from all of the above in certain particulars, was recorded by the late G. W. Grayson from Caley Proctor, one of the leading "reactionaries" among the Creeks at the present time, and I insert it here through the courtesy of the Grayson family:

"Cosa, according to this legend, was the original name of the Muscogees, two of whom, at a very early day, went away from home on a hunting expedition in the wild woods as was the habit of the people in those times. Having gone as far as they cared to travel the first day, they encamped near a stream of water. Near their camp stood a large tree, from a certain part of which the men noticed that drops of water occasionally fell. Regarding this as a rather strange phenomenon, one of the men determined to investigate it, and he climbed the tree to ascertain the cause, while his companion awaited the result below. He found the tree to be hollow at a certain point, containing a considerable quantity of water collected therein from rainfall, from which descended the drops of water they had observed. In this water were a number of fishes. With his hands he caught some of these which he brought down, cooked and ate against the protests of his companion, who said, 'We have always been counseled not to undertake to do anything unusual without the advice or consent of persons older than we and of greater experience, and I think you should not eat the fishes taken in so strange a manner lest something terrible befall you.' But the young man could not undo his rash act, and soon its effects began to show clearly; in a little while, that same evening, his human head and face changed into the head of an immense snake, while his arms and legs also changed, completing his metamorphosis into a large serpent of horrible appearance.

"Next morning he bewailed his plight to his companion, saying: 'You in all friendliness advised me not to eat of the fishes lest evil befall me, but, not regarding your friendly caution, I ate them and am now suffering the consequences of my obstinacy. Go now and inform my parents of my plight, tell them how it came about, and say to them, if they desire to see me, to come here. I will be in the creek near by. When they come let them discharge a gun as a signal of their arrival and I shall come out of the water to meet them.'

"So saying he entered the waters of the creek and disappeared, leaving his friend alone in camp. The latter thereupon returned to the town of Cosa, and to the parents and relatives of the now metamorphosed man he related all that had occurred and told how he had been deputed by his unfortunate friend to relate the story of his mishap and how they might once more see him if they desired.

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"The parents and relatives and all others who had heard the story were greatly concerned and, assembling in full force, repaired at once to the place indicated where they discharged the gun as their friend had directed. On hearing this signal the snake man came forth from the creek and stretched himself affectionately across the laps of his parents as they sat in the midst of the assemblage. Upon this they gave way to their grief and set up a great *wahketa*,[48c] expressive of sorrow for the loss of their son. The monster said sadly: 'You see me in this pitiable condition, the circumstances of which have, I presume, been explained to you so that you understand how it came about. I now suggest that my relatives and friends return to their homes and on the fourth day from the present gather at the Tcook-u'-thlocco ("Big House"—i. e., the Square Ground) where I will meet them later.' Saying this, the snake-man returned to the water and his relatives and friends went back to their homes.

"On the fourth day the relatives and friends of the snake-man gathered at the Tcook-u′-thlocco, as had been requested, and many others came near but remained on the outside. Presently the snake-man made his appearance, coming from the stream in which he had taken refuge, and he was followed by a stream of water. When he entered the grounds occupied by the public buildings they all sank, along with the people gathered there, and this was the origin of Coosa River.

"Those who did not enter the Square Grounds with the friends and relatives of the snake-man were not destroyed, but gathered themselves together and became what was subsequently known as Cosa town, the members calling themselves Cos-is-tuggees, 'people of the Cosa town,' though the name is more properly Cos-ulgee. The residue of the Cosa people, having thus formed a town, bitterly lamented on account of the calamity that had thus robbed them of so many of their valuable citizens. In grievous distress they cried out, 'Woe is our nation! We were the greatest of all the nations; our *tus-e-ki-yas* were numerous, reaching out and known and dreaded the world over. But it is not so now. We have lost even our *Tcook-u' thlocco*, and a great number of our common people and great is the humiliation that has fallen on us. Shame and humiliation is now our portion. We can occupy only the place of the *e-yas-ke* (the humble, lowly, weak, unpretending).' The Cosas indulged in other similar jeremiads and changed their name to Tulsee, *ulsee* signifying in the Muscogee language 'to be ashamed,' 'bashful,' while from it may be derived *ul is ke ta*, 'shame,' 'disgrace,' but how the letter *t* could have become prefixed to *ulsee* is neither explained nor conjectured."

[48c] Wahketa, a lamentation for the dead.

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The supposed derivation of the name Tulsa[1] is, of course, fanciful. The story of the man turned into a serpent is well known among the southeastern Indians and I have several versions of it, but this is the only one in which it appears as explanatory of an historical event or social custom.

Legus Perryman and other informants told me that Kos istági is the old name of the Tulsa people; that it was used frequently in speeches on the busk ground; and that names beginning with Kos were common among them. One informant stated that the term was applied, not to the entire people, but to one of the two moieties, perhaps the Whites. The same terms were used by the Okfuskee, and, although some informants knew nothing of a connection between these towns, it is practically certain.

There is a story, the origin of which I do not know, to the effect that the Tulsa were once captured by the Tukabahchee.

Of course the native explanations of the names Coosa, Tulsa, and so on are the results of later reasoning. I met with two interesting cases of this linguistic phenomenon in which the English language was haled in to give point to the story. One affirms that there was once a great feast at which the Coweta Indians consumed so much more than any body else that they came to be called "Cow eaters." The other amounts to a myth built up to explain the name Eufaula and was related by as competent an authority as Jackson Lewis.

"In very early times the Eaufaula lived on one side of a certain stream and some Choctaw, with whom they were at war, lived on the opposite side which had a high bank. Every now and then a party from each would creep over to the other side, take a scalp, and, after their return, celebrate the event in the usual manner. Finally the Eufaula formed two bands of warriors which crept around back of the Choctaw town, one on each side, made an attack upon it and drove its occupants over the bluff, compelling them to jump into the water. From this circumstance that place came to be called "Where the people jumped down in" (isti aktaski) or "Where the people fell down in" (isti aklatki), and the Eufaula are said to have gotten their name from that circumstance. These names do not resemble the term Eufaula, but it is thought that that term is an English translation of them."

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The French memoir which I have assigned conjecturally to about the year 1755 contains the following curious story purporting to be the origin myth of the Creek Indians, or at least of that part of them living on Tallapoosa River. As it seems to emanate from Fort Toulouse, perhaps it should be still further restricted to the Alabama-speaking Indians about that place. The apparent European elements which it contains—for instance, the production of human beings from

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[1] [Cf. cat. 116, p.72--Analyst]

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stones reminiscent of the Greek story of Dencalion and Pyhrra and the objective illustration of the "in union there is strength" aphorism—render it doubtful how much we should credit to a purely Indian origin. At any rate it stands apart from all the stories above reported.

"They pretend that their first father having escaped with two male children from a universal deluge, for they all declare that there was one, went to consult the oracle. This told him to ascend a designated mountain covered with stones, some white and others black, collect as many of both kinds as he could before sunset, he and his two children, and carry them over their lands, and the next day they would find as many men and women as they had carried stones; and that one of his little sons would become chief of a great nation made up of the fragments of many others, rendered fugitives by wars. The truth of the prediction of the oracle was demonstrated next day by the number of men and women they saw around their cabins, of whom they formed many villages. The good father finding himself on his deathbed, exhorted his children to live in a firm union; he had a bundle of canes brought which, having fastened together, he told them to break, which they could not do. But having detached these canes and given them out one after the other they broke them easily. Upon this he told them that so long as they were united, their enemies would not be able to destroy them, but they must take care not to separate, or they would infallibly fall into slavery. While these things were taking place there arrived a beautiful Indian woman, almost white, who by her fine face and noble bearing showed that she was not of the lowest rank. She told them that she had come from a distance, that she had left her village when it was on the point of falling into the hands of enemies, and asked of them an asylum. This they generously granted, so much the more willingly as she began to move the affections of the eldest son very deeply. The father on his side encouraged his son to take her as his wife and had the pleasure of seeing her become his daughter-in-law before he died. But scarcely had he closed his eyes when the other brother, jealous of the possession of such a beautiful wife by his brother, disputed with him over the leadership, and raised a part of the people who were in his interest. A war followed in which the elder brother was killed. Immediately after his death a white bear made its appearance. As there were only black bears in that country, this appeared astonishing. This bear was followed by a number of black bears, which waged a cruel combat against the white bear in the presence of the people, but it remained victor after causing a general carnage among the black bears, and disappeared immediately. When everyone had recovered from his astonishment, the victorious brother went to find his sister-in-law but he could not discover her

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anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.[1]

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"In regard to the oracle[1] of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death."

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

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This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Lapläko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis-

[1] [Cf. cat 11, p. 74 -- Analyst]

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possessed by these newcomers. Another informant said that the Indians were believed to have come out of the earth, and therefore they own it and are to go back into it. The white people, on the other hand, were created later out of the foam of the sea. They first begged to put one foot on shore to rest themselves a little, and the Indians consented, but afterward the newcomers complained that it was tiresome to stand on but one foot and they asked to be allowed to set the other ashore. This also was granted. Next, the whites wanted to buy from the Indians as much land as could be covered with a hide, and when the Indians agreed they cut the hide into strips and made it surround a large area. In this way the Indians were gradually dispossessed. The Indians were also given a prophecy at that time to the effect that the whites would come and preach to them and the preaching would move westward.

Here we have the famous "cowhide purchase" myth, which dates back as far at least as Virgil, reinjected into Indian thought, apparently from a modern schoolbook. The most remarkable interweaving of schoolbook and other latter-day elements into a kind of Indian neo-philosophy is, however, the following from a decidedly reactionary Creek of Hilibi town:

"When Columbus reached America the first thing he saw was an eagle with a bunch of arrows in one claw and some leaves in the other. The arrows had been shot by the Indians and the eagle had caught them. Then Columbus and his people landed, but, being at first unable to open communication with the natives on account of their shyness, they resorted to a stratagem. They set a barrel of whisky ashore, laid a cane by it, and then withdrew. Afterward the Indians found the barrel and got drunk so that the white people were enabled to capture one of them. The rest managed to get away. They took the man they had captured and taught him "English" and through him they gradually became acquainted with the rest. Then they began to make treaties. To illustrate the gradual encroachments of the newcomers and how they dispossessed the Indians the following parable is told. Seventy Indian chiefs sat on a log which had fallen toward the west, and every time the whites came to make a treaty with them they would move up on it a little. They kept hitching up until at last the end man was shoved off. Then he said: 'There it is. I told you that is what you would do with me.' The white people induced them to make a treaty granting them as much ground as could be covered with a cowhide, and afterward they cut the hide into strips and treated them in the way already related. More white people kept coming and trouble arose, so that part had to go back. The remainder, however, promised that they would treat the Indians right as long as the streams ran and the water lasted."

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say: 173 177 609 648

"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.'"

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

PROPHECIES REGARDING THE FATE OF THE INDIANS

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse 773

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to obey orders, and the whole ceremony come to an end." According to yet another story the destruction was to be brought upon the Creek people by the loss of their women, who were to be taken away to an island, though by what agency is not stated. An old man of Tukabahchee, now long dead, is quoted by Zachariah Cook as having said that at the end of all things the world would shrivel up to "the mother of trees," which was at or identical with "the navel of the world," and then all of the people would be destroyed except four, who would be carried up to Ibofánga (The-one-above) on a block of wood.[48d]

Again it was said that by and by the Creeks would come to sing the Kilisto (Christ) song, and that would be an indication that as a distinct tribe they were to come to an end. Or according to another version, when the Kilisto song came to be adopted by the Creeks the old tradition would be driven away, the busk would fall into disuse, and then the Indians would decline in numbers. When the last of the Indians had disappeared their land would disappear also, presumably under the waters of the ocean.

The Indian agent who supplied Schoolcraft with information regarding the Chickasaw was told that at the end of all things the world would be destroyed by fire, and that then or shortly before it would "rain down blood and oil." This notion would appear to be in part at least from Christian sources.[49] In another place Schoolcraft gives the following information regarding the Muskogee, furnished by Mr. D. W. Eakins:

"They have no cycle, or fixed or stated period, at the end of which they believe the world will come to a close. But they say it will be destroyed by fire; and when this period arrives, the earth will be filled with war; and a body of people will appear among the Indians, and they will be destroyed; and then the Great Spirit will destroy the earth, to keep others from getting possession of it. They do not believe that the Indian priests cause its renewal."[50]

The rain of blood was also known to Hitchcock's informants:

"Before the world comes to an end there is to be a general peace of all peoples, white and red (the blacks they seem to take no account of). After the peace, for a time it will rain blood and when trees are cut the sap will be blood. After that it will be seen that the world will be coming to an end and all people will go to one place to die.

"The old people used to say that those who are to be saved will go up, that the others will have towns under the earth. (Here he [the Indian informant] explained, as if anxious to impress it upon me, that this was what the old people had told him.)

"There will be but a few that will go up, the good people; the bad people will go below."[51]

In this last, Christian influence is very evident.

[48d] Tuggle heard that at the end of the world all things would be swept to one place from the four corners of the earth. See next paper, p. 487.

[49] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, p. 310.

[50] Ibid., p. 272.

[51] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Household

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety. 592

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (hûti) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the tcokofa. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives. [562] [591] [888]

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses. [597] [567] [595]

The Family

GENERAL REMARKS

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative 601 applications are frequently indicated by means of the diminutive suffix or some qualifying word, though we find that this may sometimes be omitted. In the tables which follow I have given merely the stems of the terms of relationship, but it must be understood that in actual use they never occur without the appropriate pronominal prefixes. For each of them there is an English term the use of which approaches so closely to that of the Indian that it may be employed—as I have in fact employed it—as typical of the relationship in question.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP USED BY A MAN

I. TERMS DETERMINED BY BIRTH

1. potca (grandfather). Applied: (1) to the father's father and the mother's father; (2) to the brothers of these, their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and their brothers; in short, to all of the male ancients of the groups from which the speaker traces his origin; (3) to the father's sister's husband and to the husbands of all her female descendants in both the male and the female lines; (4) to husbands of the more remote posi mentioned below. It was bestowed on anyone whose wife was called posi and given as an honorary term to any old man. A man called the clan (or exogamous group?) of his father's father tcapotca łåko, "my great-grandfather."

2. posi (grandmother). Applied: (1) to the father's mother and the mother's mother, sometimes distinguished as "the real posi"; (2) to the sisters and female ancestors of these individuals in the same extensive manner as was the case with the preceding term; (3) to the father's sister and all of her female descendants in both the female and the male lines; (4) to more remote female descendants of all posi on the father's side. The husbands of all women called by this term were known as potca.

3. łki (father). Applied: (1) to the father; (2) to the father's brother; (3) to the father's sister's male descendants in both male and female lines; (4) to all other male descendants of the women on the father's side who are called posi; (5) to the husband of the mother's sister; (6) to the stepfather; it carries the idea of "second father." All of these individuals except the true father are usually distinguished by having applied to them the diminutive form of this term, łkutci.

4. tcki (mother). Applied: (1) to the mother; (2) to the mother's sister; (3) to the father's brother's wife; (4) to the wives of the male descendants of the father's sister and the more remote relations upon the father's side who are known by the preceding term; (5) to th stepmother. And, as in the case of the preceding term, it usuall takes the diminutive suffix in all usages except the first.

5. pawa (uncle). Applied: (1) to the mother's brother; (2) to the older men of the mother's exogamous group and at times to the younger ones also since it is said that an old man would sometimes call a small baby thus. Each exogamous group had an "uncle" par excellence who was its leader and instructor.[51a]

According to Morgan[52] this term was also applied to the mother's mother's brother's son and to the mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son, the children and grandchildren of these individuals receiving the same terms as the children and grandchildren of the mother's own brother. It is evident that the first of these can not belong to the same exogamous group as the mother's brother, because his father belongs to that exogamous group, while the second may or may not belong to it according as his father had married into that exogamous group or into another. If Morgan's informants were correct and he made no mistake himself, this would remove almost the last term from the number of those which might have had an application coterminous with an exogamous group.

6. łaha (elder brother). Applied: (1) to the elder brother; (2) to the older male child of the father's brother; (3) to the older male child of the mother's sister; (4) to a number of men of corresponding age in the exogamous group of the speaker.

7. tcusi (younger brother). Applied like the preceding but to younger brothers and younger males of the same groups.

8. wȧnwa (sister). The feminine term parallel to the last two. Loughridge and Hodge[53] give wȧnwa for elder sister and tcuste for younger sister, but I am inclined to think that this distinction was not commonly made. According to Morgan[54] the stepsister was known by the same term.

9. kputci (son). Applied: (1) to the son; (2) to the son of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the sons of all of those called łaha or tcusi; (4) to the male children of those called pawa (uncle). The stepson was called tcȧkputci haki, "like my son."

10. tchusti (daughter) (see 22). Applied: (1) to the daughter; (2) to the daughter of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the daughters of all those called łaha or tcusi; (4) to the female children of those spoken of as pawa (uncle). The stepdaughter was called tcȧtchusti haki, "like my daughter."

11. hopwiwa (nephew). Applied: (1) to the sister's son; (2) to all sons of those called wȧnwa; (3) to the younger men of the same exogamous group more remotely related. The plural form of this term, hopwitȧlgi, is used for the persons constituting this category and the next taken collectively.

[51a] See pp. 123-131.
[52] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 185, 288.
[53] Loughridge and Hodge, Dictionary, entry "sister."
[54] Morgan, op. cit., p. 376.

12. hȧkpati (niece). Applied: (1) to the sister's daughter; (2) to all daughters of those called wȧnwa; (3) to the younger women of the same exogamous group more remotely related, and extended, it is said, not merely to all of the young women of the group but to its entire female membership.

13. osuswa (grandchild). Applied: (1) to the grandchild of either sex by persons of either sex; (2) to the grandchildren of the brothers and sisters; (3) to the grandchildren of the uncles (mother's brothers); (4) to the grandchildren of all called by the same terms as the brothers, sisters, and uncles; (5) to the descendants of all of these. In other words it seems to take in all of the coming generations generally except for the descendants of the women of the father's exogamous group and those related through it, who are all known as "little fathers," and grandmothers (posi).

II. MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS

14. hewa (wife). This term was never employed by the man himself "because it was thought that husband and wife are too closely related." Instead he usually called his wife hoktȧli (old woman). Hewa, or a term very closely resembling it, was given to me as a synonym for hȧtcawa (see No. 18). Morgan,[55] however, who gives it in the form ehiwă, enters it as one applied by a woman to her brother's wife and, as might have been expected, to her mother's sister's son's wife. It is perhaps significant that it then takes the possessive pronominal prefix, indicating less direct connection, while the word for wife takes the direct pronominal prefix.

15. mahe (father-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's father; (2) to his brothers and his and their male antecedents generally, as also probably to the older men of the father-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says two fathers-in-law applied the term reciprocally.

16. hoktȧlwa (mother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's mother; (2) to the sisters and female antecedents of all these women, and probably to the older women of the mother-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says that two mothers-in-law applied the term to each other. This word carries the meaning that the person so designated has become "the old woman of the house."

17. kaputci (brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's brother; (2) to the wife's sister's husband; (3) to all of the younger males related through the wife.

18. hȧtcawa (sister-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's sister; (2) to the wife's brother's wife; (3) to all of the younger females related through the wife; (4) to the wife of the uncle (pawa) and all of those women married to the persons called uncle. According to Morgan[56] it is also used for the brother's wife instead of tcukowȧki

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[55] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 341, 381.

[56] Ibid., p. 380.

(kawa) and this would seem to be more natural, since in that case hàtcawa would prove to be the term for all of the women married into a man's family in his own generation, while tcukowàki would be the corresponding term for all of the males. Still all my own informants disagree with Morgan on this point. As was to have been expected in any case, Morgan also applies it to the father's brother's son's wife and the mother's sister's son's wife.

19. tcukowàki (called by Morgan kawa) (sister-in-law, brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the sister's husband; (2) according to my own informants to the brother's wife (see 18); (3) to the husbands and wives (?) of those called elder brother, younger brother, and sister; (4) to the sister's daughter's husband. It is possible that the term hàtisi may sometimes have been used instead of this. In accordance with the expected we find Morgan[57] applying it to the father's brother's daughter's husband and the mother's sister's daughter's husband. The word means "he who lies down at (my) house" and thus becomes a member of my family.

20. hàtisi (son-in-law, daughter-in-law). Applied: (1) to the son's wife; (2) to the daughter's husband; (3) to the wives and husbands of all of those called "sons" and "daughters."

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP USED BY A WOMAN

These are the same as the terms used by a man except as below indicated:

The terms łaha and tcusi are applied to the elder sister and younger sister respectively instead of to the elder and younger brother, and they are extended to corresponding female groups. Morgan states that the former term was bestowed upon the stepsister.

21. tciłwa (brother). Applied: (1) to the brother; (2) to male children of the father's brothers and those classed with him, and to the male children of the mother's sisters and those classed with her; (3) to the stepbrother. It is the reciprocal of the purely male term wànwa.

22. tchuswa (child).[58] Applied: (1) to own children of both sexes in place of the male terms łputci and tchusti; (2) to the children of the elder sisters and younger sisters; (3) to the children of all called by the same names as the elder and younger sisters. Sometimes the sister's children and more remote relations were distinguished by the use of the diminutive suffix (tchuswutci). The stepchild was called tcàtchuswa haki, "like my child."

Instead of employing separate terms for the nephew and niece, as did males, the women called them indiscriminately osuswa (grandchildren), and also gave this term to the children of the uncles (pawa).

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[57] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 317, 342.

[58] The word is said to be related to tcustaki, "eggs."

Instead of applying the terms tchuswa or tchuswutci to the children of her father's brother's daughter and her mother's sister's daughter, Morgan states that a woman used the term osuswa. This is all the more remarkable as the mothers of these individuals are at the same time said to have been called by the same terms as the speaker's own sisters (łaha and tcusi). This is also given as the term for the mother's sister's daughter's children, and hence it presumably took in all of the children of those called łaha and tcusi except own sisters.

23. he (husband). A wife did not use this term herself; she called her busband "my old man."

A woman uses the same terms for her husband's father and mother that a man uses for his wife's father and mother.

24. hâtcawa (brother-in-law, sister-in-law). According to my own informants, this is applied to all brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law—sister's husband, brother's wife, husband's brother, husband's sister, husband's brother's wife, and husband's sister's husband. As stated above (under 14), Morgan calls the brother's wife ehiwă, while I was told that the latter term, or one nearly like it, was synonymous with hâtcawa in all of its uses. The ordinary word for wife is hewá (or haiwa).

Where sex distinctions were not connoted by the terms themselves they could be indicated by adding to any term honanwa, "male," or hokti, "female."

SUPPLEMENTARY TERMS

25. itetcayeta, "the one next to whom I come" (or "the other brother"—Morgan[59]) may sometimes be applied to the elder brother, but it is not necessarily bestowed on blood relations. Morgan gives this as a term for the father's brother's son and also for the stepbrother.[60]

26. saitca, used to designate the men of the father's clan.

27. pitahaiâlgi (-âlgi plural suffix) is believed to have been applied to the female offspring of the father's brothers. This is from information furnished by the late G. W. Grayson.

28. hisitagi, a term applied to friendly clans not otherwise related.

29. hupuitagi, "children," a general term; the singular is obsolete.

30. hunapsi, "offspring."

31. istutci ("little person"), my child, referring to any single child; hokosi is a term for children in general.

32. tcipânâgi, or tcibânâgi, the younger men of the clan or exogamous group.

Many of these terms, especially as respects their more general applications, are now used only in jest, but anciently their use was a serious and sacred matter. The following tables present diagrammatically all of the essentials of the Creek scheme of relationship.

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[59] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, p. 314.

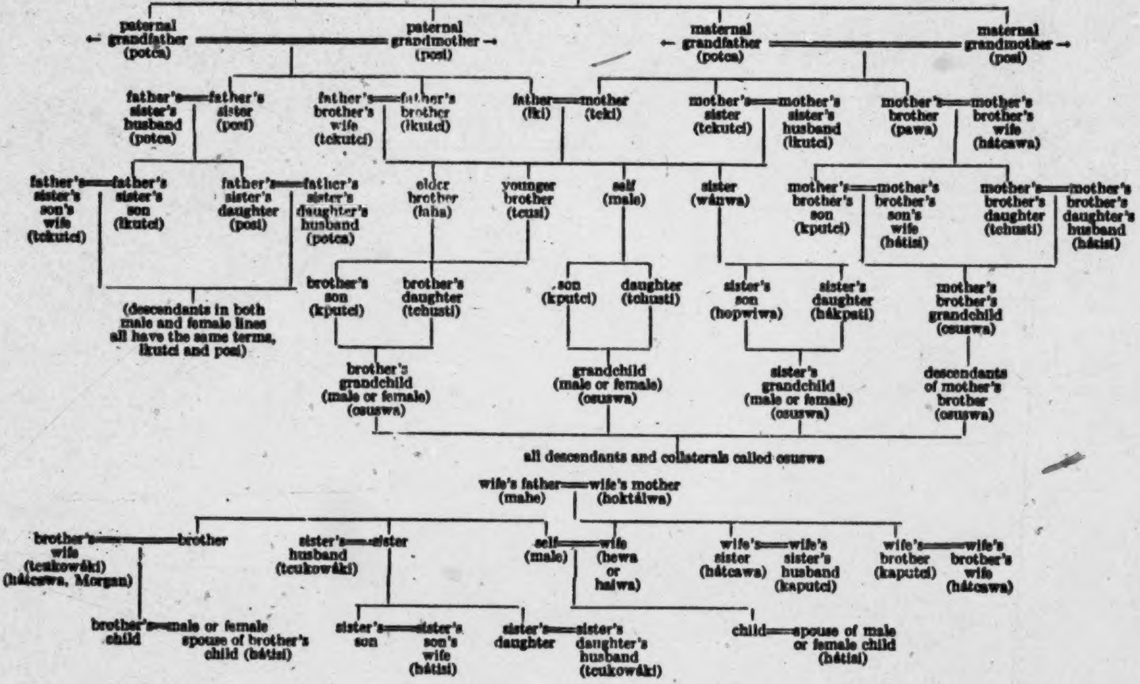
[60] Ibid., pp. 314, 375.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNII Creek NNII
Muskogee

601

MUSKOGEE—SELF MALE

Collaterals and antecedents all called potca or posi

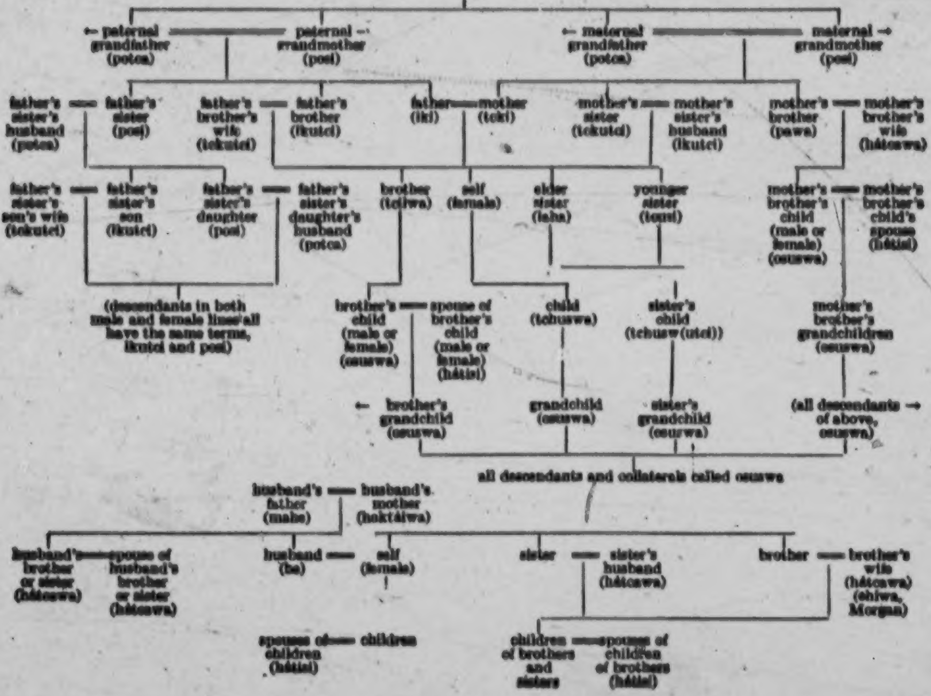

← paternal grandfather (potca)
paternal grandmother (posi) →
← maternal grandfather (potca)
maternal grandmother (posi) →
father's sister's husband (potca)
father's sister (posi)
father's brother's wife (tckutci)
father's brother (ikutci)
father (iki)
mother (tcki)
mother's sister (tckutci)
mother's sister's husband (ikutci)
mother's brother (pawa)
mother's brother's wife (hâtcawa)
father's sister's son's wife (tckutci)
father's sister's son (ikutci)
father's sister's daughter (posi)
father's sister's daughter's husband (potca)
elder brother (laha)
younger brother (tcusi)
self (male)
sister (wânwa)
mother's brother's son (kputci)
mother's brother's son's wife (hâtisi)
mother's brother's daughter (tchusti)
mother's brother's daughter's husband (hâtisi)
(descendants in both male and female lines all have the same terms, ikutci and posi)
brother's son (kputci)
brother's daughter (tchusti)
son (kputci)
daughter (tchusti)
sister's son (hopwiwa)
sister's daughter (hâkpati)
mother's brother's grandchild (osuswa)
brother's grandchild (male or female) (osuswa)
grandchild (male or female) (osuswa)
sister's grandchild (male or female) (osuswa)
descendants of mother's brother (osuswa)
all descendants and collaterals called osuswa
wife's father (mahe)
wife's mother (hoktâlwa)
brother's wife (tcukowâki) (hâtcawa, Morgan)
brother
sister's husband (tcukowâki)
sister
self (male)
wife (hewa or haiwa)
wife's sister (hâtcawa)
wife's sister's husband (kaputci)
wife's brother (kaputci)
wife's brother's wife (hâtcawa)
brother's child
male or female spouse of brother's child (hâtisi)
sister's son
sister's son's wife (hâtisi)
sister's daughter
sister's daughter's husband (tcukowâki)
child
spouse of male or female child (hâtisi)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNII Creek NNII
Muskogee

601

MUSKOGEE—SELF FEMALE

Collaterals and antecedents all called potca or posi


← paternal grandfather (potca)
paternal grandmother (posi) →
← maternal grandfather (potca)
maternal grandmother (posi) →
father's sister's husband (potca)
father's sister (posi)
father's brother's wife (tckutci)
father's brother (ikutci)
father (iki)
mother (tcki)
mother's sister (tckutci)
mother's sister's husband (ikutci)
mother's brother (pawa)
mother's brother's wife (hâtcswa)
father's sister's son's wife (tckutci)
father's sister's son (ikutci)
father's sister's daughter (posi)
father's sister's daughter's husband (potca)
brother (tciiwa)
self (female)
elder sister (iaha)
younger sister (tcusi)
mother's brother's child (male or female) (osuswa)
mother's brother's child's spouse (hâtisi)
(descendants in both male and female lines all have the same terms, ikutci and posi)
brother's child (male or female) (osuswa)
spouse of brother's child (male or female) (hâtisi)
child (tchuswa)
sister's child (tchusw(utci))
mother's brother's grandchildren (osuswa)
← brother's grandchild (osuswa)
grandchild (osuswa)
sister's grandchild (osurwa)
(all descendants of above, osuswa) →
all descendants and collaterals called osuswa
husband's father (mahe)
husband's mother (hoktâiwa)
husband's brother or sister (hâtcswa)
spouse of husband's brother or sister (hâtcswa)
husband (he)
self (female)
sister
sister's husband (hâtcswa)
brother
brother's wife (hâtcswa) (chiwa, Morgan)
spouses of children (hâtisi)
children
children of brothers and sisters
spouses of children of brothers (hâtisi)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll
Muskogee

Almost the only attempt by an early writer to give an idea of the nature of the Muskogee terms of relationship is by Stiggins, who says: 601

"All the men of the father's clan or family are called their father, the women are generally called their grandmother, all the men of the mother's family older than themselves are their uncles, being their mother's brothers. All of their own age and under are called their brothers, and all of the old women of their mother's clan are called grandmother or aunt."[a]

This information agrees entirely with what has been presented above.

The ceremonial extension of terms of relationship to clans as a whole is also mentioned by Stiggins. We shall refer to this again when we come to speak of the clan system. 601 614

In spite of the emphasis which Stiggins places on clans in determining the application of terms of relationship, an examination of the usages assigned to them shows that all of the terms not individual (such as the ones used to designate husband and wife) cut across, or at least may cut across, the lines of the exogamous groups. This is, of course, patently true of those applied to grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild, and it is at once evident in the case of that applied to the father since it is used for all of the male descendants of the father's sister through both males and females. The term for "mother" may be bestowed upon a woman not of the mother's clan because it is given to the wives of the father's sister's male descendants, apparently without any clan limitations. Again, if we may trust Morgan, the term "uncle," the mother's brother, is used for the mother's mother's brother's son who can not be of the same exogamous group as the mother's brother. "Brother" and "sister" are used, not only for the children of all of those called "mothers," who are of the same exogamous group, but for the children of those called "fathers," who may be of several distinct groups. The terms for the sister's children are not determined by clan lines because they may be used for the children of the father's brother's daughter. Still less is there an absolute association of the terms resulting from marriage and the exogamous divisions.

It is evident, in other words, that the determining factor in the use of these terms is the relation which the several persons to whom they are applied bears to self, not the relation which they bear to his clan or exogamous group. It is evident, also, that terms are applied to a class for the most part because the individuals composing it are connected with some individual, or small group of individuals, having special significance for the speaker. That this extension of the term is secondary is shown clearly in many cases by the employment of the diminutive suffix which evidently indicates greater remoteness in 601 602

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[a] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

601 602 the connection. The łki or łkutci are connected with self through the primary łki or father; or because, through marriage, they have been brought in line with other łki. Much the same is true of the other relationships, and it becomes particularly obvious when we examine the associations due to marriage. The "typical" relations for a man appear to be: potca, grandfather; posi, grandmother; łki, father; tcki, mother; pawa, maternal uncle; łaha, elder brother; tcusi, younger brother; wánwa, sister; kputci, son; tchusti, daughter; hopwiwa, sister's son (or daughter); hákpati, sister's daughter; osuswa, grandchild; mahe, father-in-law; hoktáłwa, mother-in-law; hátcawa, sister-in-law; kaputci, wife's brother; tcukowaki, sister's husband; hátisi, spouse of child. The typical relations for a woman are the same except that the terms used by a man for elder brother and younger brother she applies to her elder and younger sisters, while she has a term, tciłwa, not employed by a man, for all of her brothers, and one term, tchuswa, for a child of either sex. Hátcawa has a wider extension, and, according to Morgan, a new term, ehiwa, is used for the brother's wife, perhaps a mere modification of the word "wife" itself; kaputci is not employed. The tie between an individual and his mother's people is certainly far closer than that between him and his father's people, but the fact is not reflected in the terms of relationship to the extent one would anticipate.

601 184 Although no doubt the terms of relationship employed by the various tribes incorporated into the Creek confederacy differed somewhat not only in the forms of the words but in application it is to be suspected that, as we have them to-day, they have been brought into conformity with Muskogee usage. This should be found particularly the case with Hitchiti and to a somewhat less degree with Koasati and Alabama.

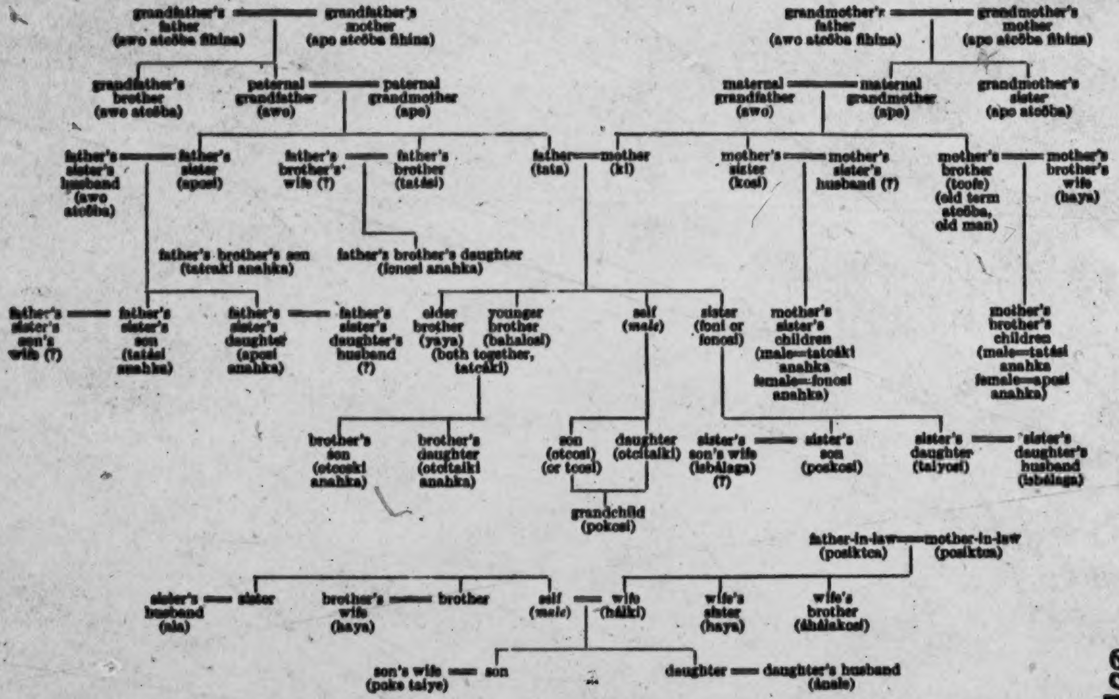
601 My list of Hitchiti terms is incomplete. It is as follows: grandfather, fosi; father, łki (in direct address by children, tati); mother, hki or ki (in direct address by children, watci); mother's sister, hkosi ("little mother"); elder brother, tcayi; younger brother, yakpitci (or yakposi); elder sister (man sp.), funki; younger sister (man sp.), otcabaka; brother (woman sp.), łákfi; elder and younger sisters of woman, same terms as for elder and younger brothers of man; son, hopui; daughter, ostaiki; nephew (and niece?), ohosotci; wife, hálki (called by husband in direct address hamuhtci); husband, nákáni ("male"); mother-in-law, katamoh. The oldest sister was known as hamuhtaka.

The following diagram illustrates the Koasati terms of relationship, as they were obtained by me at the Koasati village in Louisiana:

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNII Creek NNII
Koasati

601

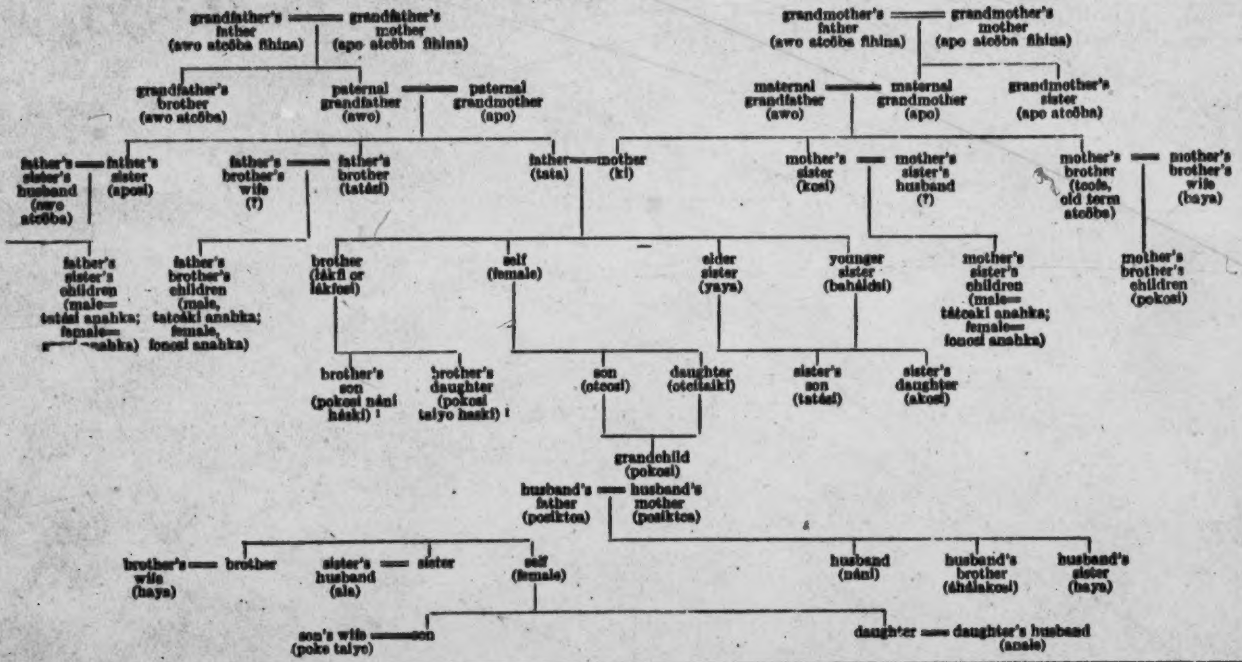
KOASATI—SELF MALE


grandfather's father (awo atcōba fihina)
grandfather's mother (apo atcōba fihina)
grandfather's brother (awo atcōba)
paternal grandfather (awo)
paternal grandmother (apo)
grandmother's father (awo atcōba fihina)
grandmother's mother (apo atcōba fihina)
maternal grandfather (awo)
maternal grandmother (apo)
grandmother's sister (apo atcōba)
father's sister's husband (awo atcōba)
father's sister (aposi)
father's brother's wife (?)
father's brother (tatási)
father (tata)
mother (ki)
mother's sister (kosi)
mother's sister's husband (?)
mother's brother (toofe) (old term atcōba, old man)
mother's brother's wife (haya)
father's brother's son (tatcaki anahka)
father's brother's daughter (ionosi anahka)
father's sister's son's wife (?)
father's sister's son (tatási anahka)
father's sister's daughter (aposi anahka)
father's sister's daughter's husband (?)
elder brother (yaya)
younger brother (babalosi)
(both together, tatcáki)
self (male)
sister (foni or fonosi)
mother's sister's children (male=tatcáki anahka female=fonosi anahka)
mother's brother's children (male=tatási anahka female=aposi anahka)
brother's son (otcoski anahka)
brother's daughter (otcitaiki anahka)
son (otcosi) (or tcosi)
daughter (otcitaiki)
sister's son's wife (isbálaga) (?)
sister's son (poskosi)
sister's daughter (taiyosi)
sister's daughter's husband (isbálaga)
grandchild (pokosi)
father-in-law (posiktca)
mother-in-law (posiktca)
sister's husband (ala)
sister
brother's wife (haya)
brother
self (male)
wife (háiki)
wife's sister (haya)
wife's brother (áhálakosi)
son's wife (poke taiye)
son
daughter
daughter's husband (ánale)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNII Creek NNII
Koasati

109

KOASATI—SELF FEMALE


grandfather's father (awo atcōba fihina)
grandfather's mother (apo atcōba fihina)
grandfather's brother (awo atcōba)
paternal grandfather (awo)
paternal grandmother (apo)
father's sister's husband (awo atcōba)
father's sister (aposi)
father's brother's wife (?)
father's brother (tatási)
father (tata)
mother (ki)
father's sister's children (male= tatási anahka; female= [illegible] anahka)
father's brother's children (male, tatoáki anahka; female, fonosi anahka)
brother (lákfi or lákfosi)
self (female)
brother's son (pokosi náni háski) 1
brother's daughter (pokosi taiyo haski) 1
son (otcosi)
daughter (otcitaiki)
grandchild (pokosi)
grandmother's father (awo atcōba fihina)
grandmother's mother (apo atcōba fihina)
maternal grandfather (awo)
maternal grandmother (apo)
grandmother's sister (apo atcōba)
mother's sister (kosi)
mother's sister's husband (?)
mother's brother (toofe, old term atcōba)
mother's brother's wife (baya)
elder sister (yaya)
younger sister (baháldsi)
mother's sister's children (male= tátcaki anahka; female= fonosi anahka)
mother's brother's children (pokosi)
sister's son (tatási)
sister's daughter (akosi)
husband's father (posiktca)
husband's mother (posiktca)
brother's wife (haya)
brother
sister's husband (ala)
sister
self (female)
husband (náni)
husband's brother (áhálakosi)
husband's sister (haya)
son's wife (poke taiyo)
son
daughter
daughter's husband (anale)

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[1] Called sometimes anlakfosi otcosi to indicate to a stranger that they are not own grandchildren.

7

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Alabama

Natchez N08

Most of the apparent differences between the Muskogee and Koasati systems disappear on closer examination, but a few divergencies are left which are rather striking. Thus Muskogee males call the children of the mother's brother by the same terms as the children of the own brother, while the Koasati give to them the terms employed for the father's sister's children. Again, the Muskogee have but one term for son-in-law and daughter-in-law, while the Koasati have a term for each. C. 184 601

So far as I have been able to determine, the Alabama system closely resembles that of the Koasati, but the words employed differ somewhat. These differences are as follows: Grandfather, fosi; maternal uncle, mosi; father's sister, tcipo; elder brother of man and elder sister of woman, tcatci; younger brother of man and younger sister of woman, bȧhlo; daughter, ostaiki. Also, ȧnale (or onali) is used for both the son-in-law and the daughter-in-law, so that Alabama resembles Muskogee in this respect more than it does Koasati. In direct address an Alabama child calls its mother pitci. C. 601

A few Natchez terms of relationship were recorded by Albert Pike, Mrs. Robertson, and Dr. A. S. Gatschet from individuals belonging to those Natchez living among the Muskogee, but the more complete list obtained by the writer was secured from an Indian of the Cherokee branch of the tribe. No differences in usage have been observed between the two sections. N. 601

From the narratives of Du Pratz and other early writers we know that the ancient Natchez organization was highly complex and a considerable development of the relationship terminology was to have been expected. What has come down to us resembles in essentials the systems of the surrounding tribes, but there are a few peculiar features and some supplementary terms which suggest greater complexity in the past. The explanations which I obtained for some of these Natchez terms are contradictory, due no doubt in part to the fact that they were transmitted through a Cherokee interpreter, but most of them may be straightened out by reference to the other Muskhogean systems. In the following list I have numbered them so as to conform as nearly as possible to the numbers in the lists already given.

Terms of Relationship Used by a Man

1. dedex (grandfather). Applied to the grandfather on either side.

2. icdu, yecdu, yecta, necte (grandmother). Applied to the grandmother on either side, and to the father's sister. From the variant forms it is possible that the one used for the father's sister may have been slightly different from that used for the grandmother, but I think not. The secondary applications were probably like those in the other southeastern languages, though whether of the Muskogee or the Chickasaw type it would be impossible to say.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek

Natchez N08

601 3. ibic (father). Applied to the father and the father's brother. The latter was also called ibicī'nu, little father. The stepfather was called ibic hánicū'ya, which seems to mean "the made father." There is, however, another term said to have been applied to the father's brother, habox. In one place it is spoken of as if limited to the father's elder brother, in another it is given as a term for the father's sister, and in still another as a term for the mother's brother. In direct address the father was called tatá.

4. ixgwál (mother). Applied to the mother and the mother's sister. The stepmother was known as ixgwál hánicū'ya (see above). But just as there appears to have been a second term for the father's brother we seem to find a second term for the father's sister, hapetse. This was recorded by Pike in 1861 and may be assumed to belong to the older system. In direct address the mother is called dzudzuha.

5. awex (maternal uncle). I have no evidence of any secondary applications.

6. gaga (elder brother). Applied by a man to his elder brother. I have one statement to the effect that it was also applied by a woman to her elder brother, but this may be considered doubtful (see 21). It was not used by a woman for her elder sister. In a single place I find the term uwana dzáxp' dádánī'ya used for "my elder brother," the first part of this resembling the following term.

7. wána (younger brother (m. sp.), younger sister (f. sp.)). Besides the applications indicated it is said to have been used for the younger children of clan brothers and sisters respectively.

8. alowáts (sister). Applied by a man to his sister older or younger.

9 and 10. haxgwál (child). Applied by a man to his son or daughter; perhaps also by a woman, although this seems doubtful (see 22). The stepson or stepdaughter was called haxgwál hánicū'ya. A man sometimes called his male child támanū'nux.

11 and 12. hedzina (nephew or niece). Applied by a man to his sister's child.

13. hámáhálic (grandchild). Applied to the children of one's own sons and daughters, and probably with the same extensions as are found in other Muskhogean languages. There is also a categorical statement to the effect that it was bestowed by a woman upon her brother's children.

14. alu (wife) (see 16). The term employed by a man for his own wife was simply tamál, "woman."

15. wagát (father-in-law).

16. háctibi (mother-in-law). This is also given by Gallatin in the oldest of all Natchez vocabularies as a term applied to the wife, but it is probably because, as in other southeastern languages, the

wife was often called by her husband "old woman" (hâctip), a word from which the term for mother-in-law is also probably derived.

17. edudziya (brother-in-law). Said to have been applied to the sister's husband and to have been used by both men and women; whether it was also bestowed by a man upon the wife's brother and the wife's sister's husband and by a woman upon her husband's brother and her husband's sister's husband is uncertain.

18 and 19. hetala (sister-in-law). Said to have been applied by persons of both sexes to the brother's wife. The wife's sister was called hecga, and according to one statement the brother's wife was so called, but this is probably an error.

20. âcowâl, or icowâl (son-in-law, daughter-in-law). This was used, apparently by persons of both sexes, for the son's wife and the daughter's husband. Gatschet has necegup for daughter-in-law, but I find no confirmation of this and no explanation of the form he gives.

Terms of Relationship Used by a Woman

These were the same as those employed by a man with the exceptions already noted and the following:

As we have seen, a woman called her younger sister by the term which a man applied to his younger brother; her elder sister, however, she called atâx.

21. gabina, "male," is given as the term which a woman bestowed upon her brother, and she is said to have called her elder brother gabina cila, "big brother" (or "big male"). The identical word is also said to have been used for "husband."

22. As stated above (see 9 and 10) a woman is sometimes said to have called her children haxgwâl, but the more usual term seems to have been abixgwâl, also extended by her to her sister's children. A statement that she so denominated her brother's children is at variance with better testimony (see 13).

The term for husband corresponding to alu is unknown. The colloquial expression was simply dom', "person."

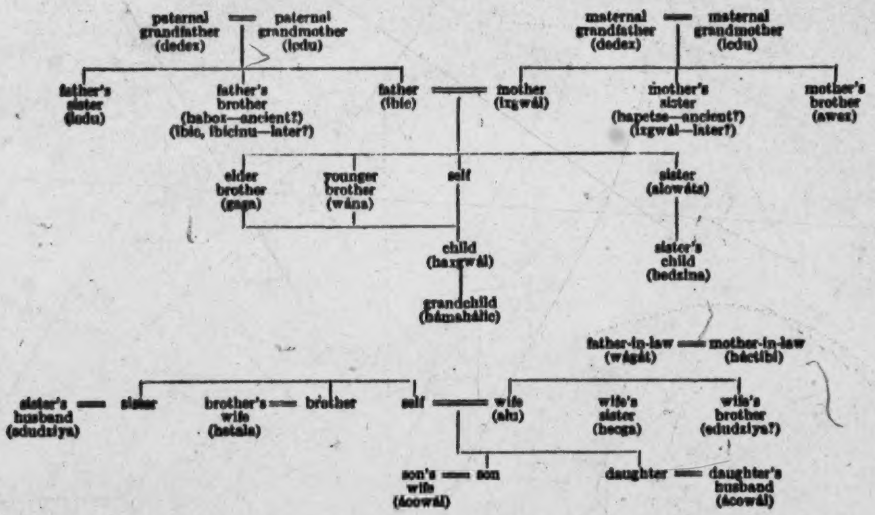
Supplementary Terms

Children of the father's brothers and sisters and the mother's brothers and sisters are all said to have been called icin gaha'wâx. Kitax, later the general term for "friend," probably had at one time a special clan application. An orphan, or one who had lost a single parent, was known as icin dzuyâ'kdzup.

Our knowledge of this system is admittedly fragmentary, and I give tabulations of it merely because they are easier to follow than a description.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNII Creek
Natchez N08

NATCHEZ TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP—SELF MALE


paternal grandfather (dedex)
paternal grandmother (içdu)
maternal grandfather (dedex)
maternal grandmother (içdu)
father's sister (içdu)
father's brother (babox—ancient?) (ibic, ibicinu—later?)
father (ibic)
mother (ixgwâl)
mother's sister (hapetse—ancient?) (ixgwâl—later?)
mother's brother (awex)
elder brother (gaga)
younger brother (wána)
self
sister (alowáta)
child (haxgwâl)
sister's child (bedzina)
grandchild (hámahâlic)
father-in-law (wágât)
mother-in-law (háctibi)
sister's husband (sdudziya)
sister
brother's wife (hetala)
brother
self
wife (alu)
wife's sister (hecga)
wife's brother (sdudziya?)
son's wife (ácowâl)
son
daughter
daughter's husband (ácowâl)

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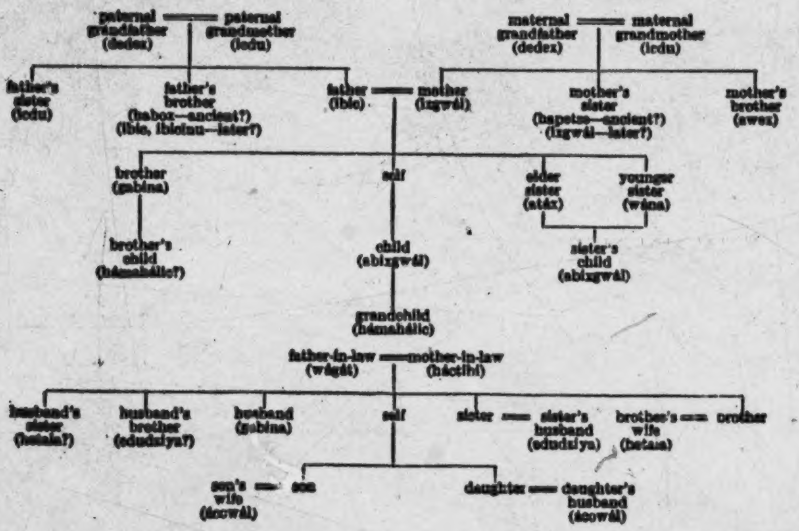
Natchez Terms of Relationship—Self Female


paternal grandfather (dedex)
paternal grandmother (ledu)
maternal grandfather (dedex)
maternal grandmother (ledu)
father's sister (ledu)
father's brother (habox—ancient?) (ibic, ibicinu—later?)
father (ibic)
mother (izgwál)
mother's sister (hapetse—ancient?) (izgwál—later?)
mother's brother (awex)
brother (gabina)
self
elder sister (atáx)
younger sister (wána)
brother's child (hámahálic?)
child (abizgwál)
sister's child (abizgwál)
grandchild (hámahálic)
father-in-law (wágát)
mother-in-law (háctihi)
husband's sister (hetaia?)
husband's brother (edudziya?)
husband (gabina)
self
sister
sister's husband (edudziya)
brother's wife (hetaia)
brother
son's wife (ácowál)
son
daughter
daughter's husband (ácowál)

N. 601 171 C. 601 171

In its main outlines this is like the better known systems already described.[1] There are, however, two or three divergencies which would perhaps be of importance if we could be assured of the reliability of our data. One of these was the use of terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister having no etymological connection with the words for own father and own mother; another the employment by a woman of a term for elder sister distinct from the term used by a man for his elder brother. There is not a trace of the first of these anomalies in Cherokee any more than in the common Muskhogean tongues. Cherokee and ordinary Muskhogean usage do indeed diverge in applying terms to the brothers and sisters, but Natchez agrees with neither. Among the Cherokee there is one reciprocal term applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. A man has distinct terms for elder brother and younger brother, neither of which is, indeed, used by the woman, but, unlike Natchez, she has only one term for all of her sisters.

C. 601 619

When we come to the discussion of clans we shall find that terms of relationship, particularly the terms "uncle" and "nephew," were sometimes applied to clans taken as a whole (see pp. 145–149). They were also extended to towns and foreign tribes. Thus Tukabahchee has frequently been called "the mother town" (tälwa Itcki), an appellation shared also by Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, and Otciapofa. Malatchi, head chief of the Creeks about the middle of the eighteenth century and probably a Kasihta Indian, speaks of the Chickasaw as his "younger brothers" and himself as their "elder brother."[62] McGillivray informed Barton that the Cherokee had been longer in the east than the Creeks and therefore called the latter their "younger brothers."[63] Like so many other tribes, the Creeks called the Delaware Indians their "grandfathers" and they were called "grandchildren" by both Delaware and Shawnee.[64] Schoolcraft, who gives this information, also adds: "Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known; but by some it is."[64] The French were formerly said to be the "fathers" of the southern Indians, and at the present day the same term is applied to the Americans.

C. 601

The examination of these systems of relationship, particularly that of the Muskogee, makes it evident that they are based upon essentially the same factors as our own—blood, marriage, sex, relative age, social contact—although the fourth item has much greater prominence. To these the influence of the artificial exogamous group must be added, but it can not be too strongly emphasized that this factor merely gives a certain twist to a system by no means de-

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[62] Bosomworth's Ms. Journal, p. [illegible].

[63] Barton, New Views, p. xlv.

[64] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, p. [illegible].

[1] [See pp. 79-95, category 116.--Analyst]

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pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

Cr. 601

Cr. [611]

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

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"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Choola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'[66] The father and mother of the former are called *Choollingge*, and *Choollishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahlishke;* for *Ingge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . ."[67]

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"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

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[66] The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 28.

[67] Adair, op. cit., p. 191.

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several circumstances—as of the time and place, where the battle was fought, of the number and rank of their captives, and the slain. The following is a specimen: one initiating in war-titles, is called *Tannip-Abe*, 'a killer of the enemy'; he who kills a person carrying a kettle, is crowned *Soonak-Abe-Tuska;* the first word signifies a kettle,[68] and the last a warrior. *Minggáshtàbe* signifies 'one who killed a very great chieftain,' compounded of *Mingo*, *Ash*,[69] and *Abe*. Pae-Máshtàbe, is, one in the way of war-gradation, or below the highest in rank, *Pae* signifying 'far off.'[70] *Tisshu Mashtabe* is the name of a warrior who kills the war-chieftain's waiter carrying the beloved ark."[71]

Adair adds a wrong analysis of the name *Shulashummastabe*,[72] "Red shoe killer," known to the whites as Red Shoes. He gives also the names *Chetehkabe* or *Chetehkabeshto*, "You are weary killer"; or "You are very weary killer";[73] Noabe, "one who kills a rambling enemy";[74] *Pas'pharáàbe* (Paⁿs falaya abi), "killer of a long haired person"; i. e., of a Choctaw; and Yanasabe, "the buffalo-killer," given to one who has killed a distinguished enemy.[75]

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Speaking of the Creek Indians of Tuskegee, Speck says:

"A male child was given no name until he had been initiated, but was known by the name of his totem, *Fúswa* 'bird,' *Tcitto* 'snake,' or perhaps some other epithet derived from a personal peculiarity. Girls were not called by the totem name, however, but were generally addressed by the kinship term or named after some natural occurrence or object connected with their birth. This name they retained without change through life. Examples of female names are very rare."[76]

Mr. McCombs says that every male child was first called tcibā'ni, "little boy," which is natural enough. Later men and women both received names derived either from those previously used by the family connection or such as were made up on the spot. Generally the latter commemorated some war exploit which the child's father, uncle, or other male relative had performed, and it is to be presumed that the same was true of the former, although many of them can no longer be interpreted. Their use was not strictly limited to one clan. Following is a list of common names applied to men furnished me by Zachariah Cook:

Adjū'li ("Old"?).
Åno'gitca, "Beloved."
Iyágo'pkī, "To squat," "to hide."
Koabai'gī, "To raise or rise."
Litī'fkȧ, "Shedding hair."
Lū'kȧ.
Mahobá'ngī, "Spoiled" (meaning "the battle is spoiled since it is now begun").
Måne'djī, "To help someone."

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[68] Byington has *asonak* for "kettle."

[69] Or rather *aⁿsha*, "to sit."

[70] Perhaps a Chickasaw word, wanting in Choctaw unless it is contracted from bopaki.

[71] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 193.

[72] Actually from *shulush*, "a shoe"; *humma*, "red"; *imaⁿsha*, "to have or keep something"; and *abi* "to kill."

[73] From *tcitikabi*, or *tcitikabi ishto*; Adair, op. cit., p. 192.

[74] From *nowa*, "to walk," "to ramble," and *abi*, "to kill."

[75] Adair, op. cit., p. 192.

[76] Speck, Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

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Maowä'ȟi, "Near by something."
Mate'tca, "Missed" (when one plans to meet another and fails).
Měłi'ndi (?).
Midiwe'gi, "He throws him down for someone" (assisting in a fight).
Mile'i, "Pointer."
Motalě'stci.
O'djudi.
Otci'si.
Pahi'tcȧ, "To whoop and run upon the enemy."
Sȧfuě'ski, "Tumbling someone into a ditch."
Sima''gi, "To say."
Tahokně'stci, "To make anything light."
Tcinganě'hi, "A trap (for you?)."
Tco'tki, "Small."
Tiwe'gi, "He throws someone down by himself."
Wȧsa'si, "Osage."

From other sources I have obtained the following:

Hitcifa'pa,[78a] "Tobacco-eater."
Hobo'yi hi'łi łȧko, "Big handsome child."
Hobo'yi łȧko, "Big offspring."
Holibo'i, "He might kill (finish) all his enemies."
Homata'igȧ, "He crossed first."
Hoya'hani or Huya'hni "Passing by." A former head war-chief of the Chiaha and Okmulgee bore this name.
Łatci'mahidjaigi, "Peeping at something (around a tree)." This was originally given because on a certain war expedition the father peeped around a tree at his own people by the camp fire, and warned them that it was dangerous to stand where they were.
Seletci (?) (applied to a person of either sex).
Takusa (?) (a common name but given to persons of importance).
Te-wahatki, "White hair with pieces of scalp."
Tokulki, "They two run."
Tomali (?).

The following are from the notes of Dr. A. S. Gatschet:

Kotca'mi, (?).
Ko'we, (?) (name for a man or woman).
Ma'kale, probably meaning "to throw water on."
Saga'hgi, "Two behind something," probably engaged in a fight; given to a man or woman.
Sapinga'hli, "Taking away, abstracting, robbing."
Sawase'gi, "Left alone in it," probably a fight; given to a man or a woman.
Simahitca'gi, "Taking aim," or "Getting sight of an object which is to be shot."
Tci'ho, "A man of Chiaha town."
Tcuwatala'go, (?).

The following names applied to women were given me by Rev. William McCombs of Eufaula, Okla.:

Anä'hki, "Getting very near (the enemy) by stratagem."
Anȧthŏ'yi, "Two returning wounded."
Folûthŏ'gi. It is implied in this word that it perpetuates the memory of two men who entered a country beset with dangers in order to locate the situation, numbers, and so on of the enemy, who performed this service by strategem or otherwise and returned safely to their own people.
Homawilä'hki, "Two advancing in front" as scouts.
Isyolai'gi, "Two fell together" after having grappled with each other, depending only upon their physical strength.
Läsahŏ'yi, "We saw them at a distance chasing (the enemy)."
Saho'hyi, "Two kept on after" the enemy, while the rest halted. This is given as the name of General Weatherford's mother.
Wŏlai'gi, indicates two special men have been sent out from an encampment to locate the enemy.[79]

[78a] Perhaps this should be Hitcipapa.

[79] The daughters of Hobo-Hiłayahola, the great Creek orator, are said to have been called Kisfa and Asihi (Smith. Misc. Colls., No. 53, p. 14).

551 Another feminine name, said to be very ancient, was recovered by Mr. Grayson and bestowed upon one of his own children. This name, Tsianīna, can not now be interpreted. Two other names, Tsinī'a, "peeping," and Mitiwō'hli, which probably means "turning around," were given me by Mrs. Grayson.

The following feminine names were collected by Doctor Gatschet:

Fik'-huya'hni, "Heart passing by, about, or around."
Isa-usăi'ki (?) or Sahusăi'ki, "One left (in war) with it."
Mihi'li, "One who likes somebody."
Setakha'hgi, "(Fighting) in a line."
Simihi'li, "One getting attached to someone" (this may, perhaps, be used for a man).

Among the Alabama of Texas the war names have long since passed out of use, and most of the young people do not have Indian names of any sort, while the meanings of those still preserved are not known. Following is a partial list of Alabama names:

MEN

Atcuwai'tcī.
Cī'mălokai'tcī'.
Cīmatătăhge'.
Ciyupī'ti.
Conafti'tci.
Cowai'yi.
Ĕ'lawĕhtcī.
Holĕtke'.
Homalĕ'htcī.
Kałăne'.
Kocpō'.
Kone'.
Lone'.
Pă'djo.
Pahe'tcă.
Patăbi'.
Sī'late.
Sīnłăhe'.
Tăfolo'hkĕ.
Takohtcī.
Tcai'iki.
Tcăke'.
Tcămba'.
Tcawĕ'hkī.
Tīkbăbe'.
Tola'na.
Wai'hke.
Yăga'hpi.
Yăhe'tcī.
Yaiyī'.

WOMEN

Apīłho'yĕ.
Awăgahe'.
Cămbo'.
Cīma'goiho'djī.
Cokyûhki.
Făla'iki.
Mocai'tci'.
Nocai'hki.
Okō'sī.
Pa'lusī.
Sa'hăwe'.
Sihoma'hki.
So'ñki.
Tcûkla'hte.
Yûłho'hki.

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614 Busk names should rather be called titles. In former days they were ordinarily given only on account of warlike exploits, especially the taking of scalps, but, as I have noted elsewhere, they could sometimes be secured by obtaining eagle feathers or killing many deer. In a few cases such titles were conferred upon women.[77] Each clan

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[77] See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42; however, in an unpublished Hitchiti story collected by Doctor Gatschet, in recognition for a deed of heroism which one woman performed, a busk title was conferred, not on her but on her son.

had its own set of titles which were given to new aspirants after the 551
death of the former holders. If at any time the titles belonging to 554
a clan were entirely exhausted a name could be borrowed from the 614
clan of the aspirant's father, but after the death of the holder it would revert to the clan from which it had been taken.

These titles usually contained two words, of which the second was 551
commonly hadjo, fiksiko, yahola, imala, tástánági, or miko. The 554
last three belonged properly to certain classes of functionaries to be 622
described elsewhere, but in some towns they seem to have become hereditary in the clans; at least this is definitely affirmed for the term tástánági. It has frequently been reported that these titles were bestowed in a certain order. Thus one of my own informants said that a man would probably be given first a name containing hadjo, next one with imala, and finally one with tástánági. Another gave the order as hadjo, tástánági, and miko. Most of this is explained, however, by the fact that the names imala, tástánági, and miko were applied to officials. Nevertheless there seems to have been some tendency to use a name containing hadjo first and one with yahola later on. These two, together with fiksiko, are called "common names," which here mean merely that they did not carry official positions with them. Hadjo means "mad," "crazy," but more particularly "furious in battle." Fiksiko means "no heart," "heartless." Yahola refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it. Originally it may have been restricted to a class of criers but later it became "common." The tendency of these names to become "common" in course of time explains why Speck was told that hadjo, fiksiko, imala, and yahola were all of equal rank.[78]

The first word in the title was derived from various sources, but 551
there were two principal kinds. The most important set was based 554
on the name of the totem animal, and in most cases it was the simple 614
name of the animal itself, not a mere reference to it. Names of this kind were usually bestowed only upon persons belonging to clans having the same name, but sometimes they were allowed to those whose fathers belonged to that clan. Another considerable set was taken from names of tribes or towns, particularly those which composed the Creek confederacy. Sometimes they preserved the names of tribes or towns that otherwise would have been forgotten On the other hand the names of Kån håtki, Okchai, Pakan tallahassee, Otciapofa, and Alabama seem not to have been used, or if so only rarely. Only a few cases of the use of the name of Muklasa can be recalled. It may be added that the name of the Toad clan, Sábåktálgi, also seems not to have been used. Jackson Lewis said that the non-

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[78] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

551 554 614 totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

551 554 622 Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tástánági and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imala lákálgi was always called Imala yahola, the leader of the tástánágálgi Tástának tcápko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tástánági, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Ahá'lák tástánági, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti átca'gági (abbreviated into I'sti tcagági)[78a] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

553 614 796 The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson [571] Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

[78a] See pp. [illegible].

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Adair tells us that an unsuccessful Chickasaw leader might be stripped of all his war titles.[79] I was told that the Creeks did not do this, but in earlier times it may very well have happened.

The following list of war names was obtained from Zachariah Cook:

Aa hadjo.
Aball hadjo.
Abayáli hadjo.
Abi'ka fiksiko, "Abihka fiksiko."
Abi'ka hadjo.
Abi'ka yahola.
Abi'kutci, "Little Abihka."
Abuyak fiksiko, "Putting-down fiksiko" (?)
Abuyak hadjo.
Abuyak yahola.
Adji yahola, "Corn yahola."
Adji hátci fiksiko.
Adji hátci hadjo.
Adji hátci yahola (?).
Ahalak fiksiko, "Potato fiksiko."
Ahalak hadjo.
Ahalak yahola.
Ahalakutci, "Little Potato."
Ahotáligo, "Clear minded."
Akálpoisa hadjo, "Dipping-something-in-under hadjo."
Akálopisa yahola.
Akfáski fiksiko, "Okfuskee fiksiko."
Akfáski hadjo.
Aktayatci fiksiko, "Aktayatci-clan fiksiko."
Aktayatci hadjo.
Aktayatci yahola.
Aktayatcutci.
Atcifaháli hadjo, "Broken- (or rough-) country hadjo."
Báskáp hadjo, (Báskáp is perhaps the same as Paskofa, see below).
Fus fiksiko, "Bird fiksiko."
Fus hadjo.
Fus yahola.
Fus hátci fiksiko, "Bird-creek (?) fiksiko."
Fus hátci hadjo.
Fus hátci yahola.
Halipoza hadjo, "Victor (?) hadjo."
Halpata fiksiko, "Alligator fiksiko."
Halpata hadjo.
Heniha tástánági.
Heniha tcápko, "Long heniha."
Henihutci, "Little heniha."
Hilibi fiksiko.
Hilibi hadjo.
Hilis fiksiko, "Medicine fiksiko."
Hilis hadjo.
Hobayi fiksiko (?), "Far away fiksiko."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi yahola.
Hobayutci.
Hoboihili fiksiko, "Good child fiksiko."
Hoboihili hadjo.
Hoboihili yahola.
Hobuis hadjo, (Hobuis from hobuiwa, "child," or hobili, "fog").
Hola'ta fiksiko.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta yahola.
Hola'tutci.
Hotálgi fiksiko, "Wind fiksiko."
Hotálgi hadjo.
Hotálgi imala(?)
Hotálgi yahola.
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Imedjiska hadjo, "Butt-of-tree hadjo."
Ina tástánági, "An ina warrior." (As a man went into battle he repeated a formula or song called "ina" which was supposed to preserve him from harm during the action.)
Inlanis hadjo.[80]
Ispani fiksiko, "Spanish fiksiko."
Ispani yahola.
Itchas fiksiko, "Beaver fiksiko."
Itchas hadjo.
Itchas yahola.
Itchasutci.
Itco fiksiko, "Deer fiksiko."
Itco hadjo.
Itco tástánági.
Itco yahola.
Itco-ili hadjo, "Deer-foot hadjo."
Itco kutcúgani, "Short deer."
Itco-yábi hadjo, "Deer-horn hadjo."
Itcutci, "Little deer."
Kaiamúlk hadjo, "Kaiamulgi hadjo."
Kán tcat hadjo.
Kapitca fiksiko, "Lye-drip fiksiko."
Kapitca hadjo.

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[79] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. [illegible].

[80] See p. 116.

Kapitca yahola.
Kapitcutci.
Kasi'ta fiksiko.
Kasi'ta hadjo.
Kasi'ta yahola.
Katca fiksiko, "Panther fiksiko."
Katca hadjo.
Katca hola'ta.
Katca yahola.
Katcili, "Panther foot."
Katcilutci, "Little panther foot."
Kawita tástánági, "Coweta tástánági."
Kinas hadjo, ("Dodging(?) hadjo").[51]
Koakodji hadjo, "Wildcat hadjo."
Koakódji yahola.
Koasat fiksiko, "Koasati fiksiko."
Koasat hadjo.
Koha láko, "Big cane."
Koha láko hadjo, "Big cane hadjo."
Kolomi hadjo.[52]
Kosa fiksiko, "Coosa fiksiko."
Kosa fiksikutci, "Little Coosa fiksiko."[53]
Kosa hadjo.
Kosa yahola.
Kotcugáni, "Short."
Kûnip fiksiko, "Skunk fiksiko."
Kûnip hadjo.
Kûnip yahola.
Kûnutci, "Little skunk."
Lata fiksiko (Distinct from Hola'ta fiksiko).
Lata hadjo.
Lata mátaha.
Lata tcápko.
Lata yahola.
Litif hadjo, (litifka, (any creature) "shedding hair").
Lodja fiksiko (Lodja is supposed to mean "turtle," though the word is not pronounced exactly like that applied to the reptile).
Lodja hadjo.
Lodja yahola.
Łálo fiksiko, "Fish fiksiko."
Łálo hadjo.
Łálo yahola.
Łidjámi fiksiko.
Łidjámi hadjo.
Łiwahali fiksiko.
Łiwahali hadjo.
Míkos hadjo, (An Alabama war name).
Muklasa.[54]
Nabotci hadjo.[55]
Nokos fiksiko, "Bear fiksiko."
Nokos hadjo.
Nokos yahola.
Nokosádji, "Bear's tail."
Nokosili, "Bear's foot."
Oikás heniha, "Water (or Oil) heniha."
Okoski (?)
Oktahasas hadjo, "Sand-town hadjo."
Oktcán fiksiko, "Salt fiksiko."
Oktcán hadjo.
Oktcán hola'ta.
Osána fiksiko, "Otter fiksiko."
Osána hadjo.
Osotci fiksiko, "Osochi fiksiko."
Osotci hadjo.
Osotci yahola.
Otci hadjo, "Hickory nut hadjo."
Otcis hadjo, "Otcesee hadjo."
Otcisi tcápko, "Long (or tall) Ochesee."
Otcisutci, "Little Ochesee."
Pahos fiksiko, "Pahosa fiksiko."
Pahos hadjo.
Pahos hobai.
Pahos yahola.
Pahosutci.
Paskofa, "Ceremonial ground."
Pin fiksiko, "Turkey fiksiko."
Pin hadjo.
Sawanok fiksiko, "Shawnee fiksiko."
Sawanok hadjo.
Sawanok yahola.
Tákosa fiksiko(?), "Mole fiksiko."
Tákosa hadjo.
Tákosa yahola.
Tál mutcás fiksiko.
Tál mutcás hadjo.
Tál mutcás yahola.
Tálimás fiksiko, "Public (or common) fiksiko."
Tálimás hadjo.
Tálimás yahola.
Tálip[55a] hadjo.
Tálof hadjo, "Town hadjo."
Tálsa fiksiko.
Tálsa hadjo.

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[51] Tukeatita means "to dodge."
[52] This was the name of a great fire maker of the Tukabahchee.
[53] This was the name of Caley Proctor, a leader of the conservative element in the Creek nation.
[54] Mr. Grayson remembered an Alabama or Koasati Indian so called.
[55] Apparently referring to an extinct tribe called Napochies by the Spaniards; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 269.
[55a] Probably from the name of a plant, tálewa; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 299

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Tálsa yahola.
Tálwá hadjo, "Town hadjo."
Támi fiksiko.
Támi hadjo.
Támi yahola.
Tápásola hadjo (abbr. Tapás hadjo), "Daddy-long-legs hadjo."
Taskik hadjo, "Tuskegee hadjo."
Táski heniha (abbr. Táskiniha).[55b]
Táskona.
Tciaha hadjo, "Chiaha hadjo."
Tciloki fiksiko (?)[55c]
Tciloki hadjo.
Tciloki yahola (?).
Tcito hadjo, "Snake hadjo."
Tcugati fiksiko (Tcugati perhaps means "imprisoned.")
Tcoska fiksiko, "Post oak fiksiko."
Tcoska hadjo.
Tcoska heniha.
Tcoska yahola.
Tcugati hadjo.
Tcugati yahola.
Tcugatutci.
Tcula fiksiko, "Fox fiksiko."
Tcula hadjo.
Tcula yahola.
Tcúwastai hadjo.
Totka bahi, "To apply fire" (or "To add fire to fire").
Totka bahi hadjo.[55d]
Totka hasi, "Old fire."
Totkis hadjo, "Fire hadjo."[55e]
Tukaba'tci fiksiko, "Tukabahchee fiksiko."
Tukaba'tci hadjo.
Tukaba'tci yahola.
Tukołici, "Spotted."
Tukołis hadjo, "Spotted hadjo."
Wâtula tcápko, "Tall crane."
Wôksi hadjo.
Wôksi miko (?).
Wôksi yahola.
Wotko fiksiko, "Raccoon fiksiko."
Wotko hadjo.
Wotko yahola.
Wotkotci, "Little raccoon."
Yaha fiksiko, "Wolf fiksiko."
Yaha hadjo
Yaha tástánági.
Yahola fiksiko.
Yahola hadjo.
Yáholutci.
Yatáwa hadjo.
Yufala fiksiko, "Eufaula fiksiko."
Yufala hadjo.[55f]

[126]

Stiggins says that in the first attack on Fort Mimms a party of Creeks rushed into the very center of the fort, and all were killed except one man who afterwards had the name bestowed upon him by his town of "*Na ho mah tee o thle ho bo yer*, which is the foremost man in danger in time of battle."[56]

Great numbers of Creek personal names appear in early documents and historical narratives dealing with the Southeast, but in many cases they are so badly misspelled or so unusual that they can not be translated. Sometimes it is impossible to say whether we have to deal with the boy's name or the war title. Among those that may be made out are the following:

Abi'ka miko(?)
Akfáski táski heniha.
Âlbama tástánági, "Alabama tástánági."
Asin yahola, "Black drink yahola."
Atás miko, "Atasi miko."
Faki lásti hadjo, "Black earth hadjo," a Seminole chief.
Fálotki(?)

[55b] Táski probably has reference to war.

[55c] See p. 125 et seq.

[55d] This was the name of G. W. Grayson's father.

[55e] The Creek name of Sam Moniac who figures in early Creek history and signed the treaty of 1790.

[55f] The Indian name of Lewis Proctor, head of the "Snake" or conservative faction among the Creeks.

[56] Stiggins, Ms.: *Na mah tee* is probably homa'ti, "a chief or leader;" *o thle* or holi, "war;" and *ho bo yer* hobayi, "far away." Mr. McCombs gives Hilibiya, "War Conqueror," as a very great title.

Fus hátci miko, probably "Bird creek miko," referring to the old town of Fus-hatchee, though the name is often translated "Bird Tail King," the words for "creek" or "river" and tail being much alike. An Indian of this name appears in the treaty of 1790 and another was a chief of Kasihta.
Fus hátci tástánági.
Heniha łáko, "Big heniha," a war title which goes back to 1733.
Heniha miko.
Hilibi hadjo.
Hobayi, "Far away."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi imala.
Hobayi miko, "Far away miko," a signer of the treaty of 1790.
Hobayi tástánági.
Hoboihili, "Good child."
Hoboihili hobayi.
Hoboihil miko, "Good child chief."
Hoboihili yahola.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta imala.
Hola'ta miko.
Hołiboyi hadjo.
Hołiboyi miko, "War killing (i. e. 'finishing') miko."
Hołihopoi, "War measurer."
Hołihopoi tástánági.
Hotálgi imala, "Wind imala."
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Ifa táski heniha.
Ifa tástánági.
Imala hátki, "White imala.
Imala łáko, "Big imala."
Ina tástánági (see preceding list).
Ispahihtca.
Ispani hadjo.
Ispokok hadjo.
Kapitca miko.
Kasi'ta miko.
Kasi'ta tástánági.
Kawita miko.
Kosa miko(?)
Kosa tástánági.
Łidjami tástánági.
Łiwahali táski heniha.
Miko hobayi, "Far away miko."
Okilisa.
Opiłło (=Opiłłáko) tástánági.[illegible]
Pahos miko.
Simomitci, "Doing-it-for-them."
Tálahási imala, "Old town imala."
Tálahási miko.
Tálwa łáko tástánági.
Tamałi hadjo.
Tamałi miko.
Tásikaia hadjo.
Tásikaia miko.
Táski heniha.
Táski heniha hátki (hátki, "white").
Táskigi tástánági, "Tuskegee tástánági."
Tástánági hadjo.
Tástánági hobayi.
Tástánági miko.
Tástánági tcápko, "Long tástánági."
Tcalaki ilitci, "Cherokee killer."
Tciaha miko, "Chiaha miko."
Tokulgi, described as "emperor of the nation"—i. e., head chief of the Coweta at one period. (Cf. the common name Tokulki, p. 99).
Totka tástánági, "Fire tástánági."
Tupa hátki, "White bed."
Waika tcumpa, "Sweet spring."
Wakokai miko.
Wiwo'ka miko.
Wóksi miko.
Yahola.
Yahola imala.
Yahola miko.
Yakinha miko, second chief under Moty Kennard and his successor. Yakinha is perhaps from ya'kita, "to shout," "to whoop."
Yufala hobayi.
Yufala tástánági.
Yufala tástánági miko.
Yutci tástánági (himself a Yuchi Indian).

While a few of these are different from any given in my list above, the greater number will be found there.

The following names are also extracted from early documents and it is probable that some of them are war names but it is impossible to say. The interpretations are from Doctor Gatschet's notes.

[illegible] Opiłłáko, "Big swamp," was a former Creek town; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 292.

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Figiya, probably meaning "to shake or tremble," a Chiaha war-chief living in 1733.

Hammitci, called "Old Hammitci of Sutchapoka," probably Old Hammitci of Lutcapoga.

Hopaitci, "One going to a distance" from houses, etc.

Imistisigo, "Man who has no men" following him, a chief who fought against the Americans after the time of the Revolution.

Lamhi tcati, "Red Eagle," said to have been the name of William Weatherford, leader of the hostile Creeks in the Creek-American war.

Lifagi, "One who punches (or stamps)" with his feet alternately, the name of a Creek chief who went to Texas at an early period.

Mikonopi, or Miko unapa, "Chief on top of all" chiefs, the head-chief of the Seminole during the Seminole war.

Mitikayi, "Pushing down," a war-chief of the Oconee.

Opototache (or Long Side), an Indian of Big Tulsa who signed the Treaty of 1790.

Stimafatcki, from afâtiki, "glad"; a signer of the Treaty of 1790.

Stimala'tci (shortened into Mala'tci or "Malachee"), "One coming into something of his own" (?), a famous head chief of the Lower Creeks.

Suta-milla, "Pointing toward the sky," a Chiaha war captain in 1733.

Tamodjäidji, "Who makes one (bird) fly(?)," the famous Tomochichi.

Timpuitci, "Coming near," Creek name of the Yuchi chief Timpuchee Barnard.

Tuwidjedji, a chief of the Oconee Indians.

Parents sometimes took their names from their children, but in that case they did not give up their earlier names. Mr. McCombs told me of a case in which a woman adopted the names of three of her children in succession. The oldest, whose name she had taken, having died, she assumed the name of the next younger, and, that one dying some time later, she adopted the name of the third.

CLANS, PHRATRIES, AND MOIETIES

NATIVE EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN

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The clan origin stories of the Creeks were of two kinds—stories attempting to account for the origin of the clan system as a whole and stories dealing with the creation of new clans.

Sometimes these last merely profess to explain how the exogamous prohibition between two linked clans came to be broken down and hence are not origin stories in the true sense of the term, but there is no clear line of demarcation between these and stories accounting for the existence of entirely new clans. If we could place any reliance upon these myths it would be easy to account for this confusion by considering that in all probability in many of them the name subsequently applied to the new clan would be assumed as having been already in existence.

In connection with the cutting apart of an exogamous group the expression is applied, "their fire (or light) was put out." Either this refers to a common myth told to account for these separations or the myth itself has originated from the expression. I have heard it in several different places and in much the same form, which is as follows:

"A man and a woman belonging to different clans or groups happened to meet at some place away from the villages and decided that their proper relations towards each other should be those of brother and sister, of course in the Indian sense. Late one night, however, after they had been camping together for some time, the woman took a torch and went after water. The man followed her, extinguished her torch, and had intercourse with her. As they could no longer be brother and sister their clans or groups thereafter came to be considered distinct."

In Hilibi there was a story like this about a man and a woman of the Alligator and Turkey clans. When it was discovered what had taken place the people held a council and decided that henceforth these two clans should be one up to midnight but that at that time "their light should be put out" and they should be separate. The same thing happened in the case of some men and women of the Potato and Raccoon clans while they were watching the cornfields and their light was "put out" in consequence. Claim is made that these events were of recent occurrence in Hilibi but evidently the myth above related has merely been given a local application.

Formerly it is claimed that the Łidjàmi were one people with the Fox, Potato, and Raccoon, but an event of the same sort as that narrated above having occurred, a council was summoned which debated whether the penalties usual in such cases should be inflicted. They decided, however, that there was perhaps some occult reason for this particular infringement of the law and ruled that in future the Łidjàmi should be considered akin to the other clans only until noon.

Okusky Miller, head man of the square ground of Chiaha Seminole, claimed that the Raccoon and Fox "put out their fire" as in the preceding cases. The offense was overlooked on the ground that the Fox is "a roustabout who can not be prevented from rambling around at night at will." It was determined that the two clans should be considered one in the daytime but distinct at night.

According to Kasihta yahola, an old man of Łaplàko, the Turkey, Bird, Beaver, and Alligator were anciently one clan but became incestuous and separated. He had the same story to tell of the separation of the Raccoon and Potato people in Tukabahchee as that given by the Hilibi Indians.

Of an intermediate type is the following story related by a Hilibi Indian on the authority of an old man "now (1912) long dead."

"The people of a certain Creek town came out of a mountain cave. At the mouth of this cave was a root extending across it in such a manner that egress was to be had on either side, and half of the people emerged on one side, half on the other side. Those who came out on one side were the Aktayatci; those who came out on the other the Woksi. A part of the Aktayatci, who were behind the others, had horns, and for this reason those who had first emerged closed the hole in the mountain, shutting them in permanently.

"After the Aktayatci had gotten out they said 'We are the Potato people (Ahalaki),' presumably because of their origin. One of their women met a man in the outside world who said to her 'I belong to the Mud-potato people (Aha akliwahi),' and she gave him in return the new name which her people had adopted. 'Why,' they said, 'our names are nearly the same; we must be kindred.' When it was dark the woman lighted a fagot, and went to the creek after water. Then the same thing happened as in the cases already mentioned, and they said to each other: 'Our relationship is entirely ruined. Hereafter we must be enemies.' In consequence the Ahalaki and Aktayatci are said to be akin until noon and after that time no kin at all."

The actual origin of a new clan, not merely the further separation of already existing clans, is claimed as having resulted from the actions of two persons of opposite sex belonging to the Toad clan. It happened that the male offender was very much beloved, and the council summoned to determine what was to be done agreed that the thing was probably fated, and they erected a new clan for the woman which they called the Mole clan. It is true that the Mole and Toad usually formed an exogamous group, but this was not always the case, and if we were to allow ourselves to speculate we might suppose that a tradition of relationship, even though of a relationship which had been broken down, might give rise to a feeling of repugnance toward marriage between the two clans which would result in practically reestablishing the former exogamy.[illegible]

In this last story an important feature to be noted is the influence exercised by the personal popularity of one of the offenders on the collective decision. It is, of course, no new experience in human affairs that the esteem in which a lawbreaker or reformer is held has a pronounced bearing on his subsequent treatment and the success of his action. Indeed, it was presented to me as a thing known to have taken place on several occasions that a man had had sexual relations with a woman belonging to a part of his clan marked off in some way from the rest, or which he claimed to be so marked off, gave her a separate clan designation, and—especially if he were a person of standing—succeeded in having his arrangements accepted by the community. It was claimed that many of the smaller clans—among which were also mentioned the Eagle and Fish—had had just such an origin.

[illegible] See also p. 142.

614 Of an entirely different type is the following trivial tale which pretends to account for the separation between the Bear and the Wolf:

"There were two old women who were sisters, each having a great number of children and grandchildren. One time one sister said to the other: 'We have been together a long time and have many children; I will go this way.' The other said, 'And I will go this way.' All the children of the first were Wolves; the children of the second were Bears."

614 773 539 Regarding the origin of clanship itself, which is practically bound up with the origin of several of the larger clans, such as the Wind, Bear, Panther, Raccoon, Alligator, and Deer, there are several stories, some simple, some more complex, but all we have left is evidently only a fragment of the original mass of lore on the subject. While I was told, as a matter of common report, by certain very good informants that the people of each clan were descended from the totem animal,[67] such a suggestion is almost always lacking in the myths dealing with the subject, as, for instance, the Wolf-Bear myth just related. According to Legus Perryman, each clan, or, rather, each exogamous division, was descended from an eponymous female ancestor called Bird-woman, Panther-woman, etc. The female ancestor of the Bear clan was not, however, named from the common black bear, but from one called the Howling or Whooping Bear. The people now identify it either with the grizzly bear or the polar bear.

Doctor Speck's Tuskegee informant said that clans were "created in the beginning by the Master of Breath, deriving their animal characteristics from certain traits displayed by beings as they passed in review before him. He enjoined them not to marry their own kind lest they die out, and since that time they have observed the exogamous principle."[68]

A Coweta Indian stated that in the beginning human beings and animals were coming across the ocean in a gar-skin boat. On the way the human beings named themselves after the different animals. One said "I belong to the Panther family," another, "I belong to the Bird family," and so on. They kept on this way until they were about to land, when all of the animals were used up. One man remained, however, and they said to him, "To what clan will you belong?" He answered, "To the clan of that which you hear making a noise above my head." He referred to the wind humming overhead, and therefore his family came to be called the Wind clan. According to another informant the people formerly came to a body of water,

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[67] The descent of the Wind clan was explained by saying that it came from the Skunk, the Skunk clan being a branch of the Wind. Also see Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

[68] Speck, in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

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and they jumped into it one after the other As they did so one said, "I'll be a Bird;" another, "I'll be a Bear;" and so on. In accordance with still another legend, people came out from a cavern in the earth, and as they emerged a man standing at the entrance bestowed their various clan designations. In fact, they seem to have been in animal forms or to have been accompanied by animals, for it is related that when the Beaver appeared he plunged into a near-by pond, and on a tree by the bank the Bird was sitting. Then the Bear came out so fast that he slid on into the water where was the Beaver. That is how the clans so named came to be together as Whites.[85a]

The association of the White clans in this manner brings us to a series of stories which seem to be versions of some common myth detailing the origin of at least a part of the major clans. A man belonging to Eufaula Hobayi said that, according to the story he had heard, in the ancient times people were sitting about in groups enveloped in darkness. When light began to break in upon them they caught sight of animals, first one, then another. As the various groups saw these they called out successively, "I will be a Bear," "I will be a Deer," and so on, according to the animal which first met their gaze. Finally a wind arose "which swept the remainder of the darkness away"; therefore the last group called itself the Wind clan.

The following was told by Big Jack, a Hilibi Indian:

"The Bird, Beaver, Panther, and Wind people were enveloped in a fog. The Panther was chief (miko) among them; the Beaver was his heniha. The Panther undertook to parch some ási (*Ilex vomitoria*), stirring the mixture with his tail. His tail was scorched, however, and turned yellow, so he gave it up. The Beaver then used his tail, but it got too hot and he dived into the water. The Bear then took his turn, rooting about in the ási with his nose. In this way the ring was formed which is about the nose of the bear. Afterward Wind was sent to blow away the fog, and as it was sent to them part of the people adopted it."

This rather gives an account of the doings of the eponymous animals than the origin of the clans, but the intention is to show that the later association between these clans was founded on events which took place at that supposedly early date.

The following myth from the Tuggle collection is in part another version of the preceding, but it has additional interest as showing the relation of the Fish clan to the Panther and Wind. Tuggle entitles it "The origin of the Tiger clan."

"In the beginning a great fog covered the earth. In a certain valley there was a large fountain. Close to this fountain a tiger (Cooch-ar [really the panther, Katca]) lived.

[85a] See pp. 106-108.

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"The Wind came to Coochah and said: 'What are you doing? It is dark and gloomy.'

"Coochah said: 'I am making my tea, my black drink,' and he stirred the tea, which he was parching, with his tail.

"The Tiger said, pointing to the fountain, 'There are my friends, my mates, the fishes. When I make my black drink they drink with me.'

"The Wind said: 'If you will make peace with me, I will blow the fog away and all will be bright.'

"Coochah consented to make peace with the Wind.

"The Wind blew the fog away and all was clear and beautiful.

"Coochah made his tea, and his mates, the fishes in the fountain, drank with him.

"They sang a song of joy and friendship, and since that time the Tiger clan has been at peace with the Wind clan, and Fish clan, and when trouble comes to one the others always give aid."[illegible]

The ever present element of the fog driven away by the wind appears again in a myth related by William McCombs to the late G. W. Grayson and by him kindly placed at my disposal. It is as follows:

"When the Creek Indians came to know anything of themselves, it was to find that they had been for a long series of generations completely buried and covered as it were in a dense fog impenetrable to their powers of vision. Being unable to see, they were dependent on their other senses, especially that of touch, in their efforts to obtain subsistence.

"In their quest for food the people very naturally became separated, straying away from each other in groups, and each group was aware of the existence and locality of its neighbors only by calling to them through the obscuring fog, each adopting the precaution not to stray out of calling distance of some other of the scattered groups.

"After a great while there arose a wind from the east that gradually drove the fog from the land. The group of people who first saw clearly the land and the various objects of nature now rendered visible by the dissipating fog, were given the name of the Wind clan. It is related that, among the many things they were now able to see, the first animate objects observed by the people of the Wind clan were a skunk and a rabbit which appear to have accompanied them during their existence in the obscuring fog. While the people did not adopt either of these as their patronymic, they did declare them their nearest and dearest friends. So well is this understood by the full blood Creek Indian, that it is universally understood to be the duty of the sons of the Wind clansmen always to extend to these animals protection and defense from physical injury or ridicule, saying 'They are my fathers.'

[illegible] Tuggle Coll. of myths, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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"As the fog continued to recede and disappear before the driving east wind, other groups of people came to light; and, as each looked about, it adopted as the patronymic of the clan by which it would thereafter be known, the first live animal which had emerged from the fog along with it.

"In this manner three other clans—the Beaver, the Bear, and the Bird—were established, who, together with the Wind, have always been known as Hut-hak-ul-kee [Hathagâlgi] (the Whites) and recognized as leaders in the establishment and maintenance of peace in the nation. The Wolf clan is kindred to the Bear clan, but without the political prestige of the latter. All the other clans, which are very numerous, were formed in the same manner, and are known as Tsi-loak-hok-ul-kee [Tcilokogâlgi] (speakers of a different language) as distinguished from the Hut-hak-ulkee, or Whites."[illegible]

There is a story in the Tuggle collection intended to explain the origin of the Bear clan specifically. It is as follows:

"At first the Indians had no horses and when they hunted they traveled in canoes, carrying their wives and children.

"One day they went up a stream and landed in a wide bottom or valley. They cut a trail through the woods with their knives. Then they sent the women and children to drive the bears towards this trail, and they took their stand near it so that they could see the bears when they ran across.

"One of the little girls while driving the bears was lost in the woods. The people hunted everywhere, but could not find her. An old she-bear met her and said 'Come and live with me.' She took the little girl home with her and kept her four years, treating her as her child.

"One day the old bear said to the little girl: 'The hunters are coming again with fire. They will kill me, but you must run to Cho [Deer] mountain. After the hunters have passed us a little shaggy dog will run to the place where we are standing and bark at us. Then all the other dogs will come. I will run away, but they will pursue me and kill me. You must escape and, when the hunters have gone, you must return. You will find a coal of fire which the hunters have left. Take this fire and return to your people. They will receive you and you will become the mother of the Bear clan. Name your first son "Bear."'

"It happened as she had said. The hunters came and the old bear was killed. The little girl did as she was directed and escaped. She

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[illegible] In 1912 Mr. McCombs himself told me this story and in much the same words. He expressed his belief that when these events took place the Muskogee were coming from the south, perhaps from South America, and that the fogs arose from the low, marshy countries near the sea. The first group of people to see the sunshine said: "We were the first to see the sunshine; therefore we shall be the first of the clans and shall own the wind, rabbit, and skunk." Another group saw a plot of wild potatoes and near by a raccoon and a fox, and therefore they had these things, and hence the Potato, Raccoon and Fox clans are one people.

614 773 539 found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan."[illegible]

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Tciloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Tciloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

614 This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

> "The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families. By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns."[illegible]

614 171 The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

[illegible] Tuggle Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[illegible] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

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English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natches	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Bear	Nokosâlgi	Nokosâli	Nita ayeksa	Tsôgo owâts	Sag'w'	Ara hasomi (of the Bird phratry).	
Wind	Hotâlgâlgi	Fahiltcâli	Mahala ayeksa	Nâbi ôwâts	Godâ		
Bird	Fuswâlgi	Fosâli	Fose ayeksa	Côgot ôwâts		Chulufichi hasomi	Foci.
Beaver	Itchâswâlgi	Posafâli	Ofâta ayeksa (Noko ayeksa in Koasati).	Emet ôwâts	Cagâᵚ		
Fox	Tcûlâlgi	Tcûlâli			Catisnê	Hana nayo hasomi (White Fox clan) (Buzzard phratry).	
Raccoon	Wotkâlgi	Sawâli		Enogol ôwâts	Djᴀ'tleⁿ		Cawi.
Water Moccasin (?)	Aktayatcâlgi	Aktayatcâli					
Potato	Ahalagâlgi	Ahalakâli					
	Tcowastâlgi						
Alligator	Halpatâlgi	Hâlpatâli	Tcintcuba ayeksa				Hatchûntchûba (Morgan).
Turkey	Pinwâlgi	Faitâli	Fite ayeksa		Wêtcᵉâ		
	Tamâlgi	Tâmâli					
	Pahosâlgi	Pahosâli					
Wolf	Yahâlgi	Obahosâli	Waso ayeksa		Dalâ		Nacoba (Morgan).
Bison	Yanasâlgi						
Medicine	Hilisâlgi						
	Tcokotâlgi	Tcokotâli					
Lye drip (?)	Kapitcâlgi	Kapitcâli					
Deer	Itcâlgi	Itcâli	Itco ayeksa	Dza ôwâts	Weᵉyᴀᵚ	Honoso nayo (White Deer), Great Deer (Fresh Water and Potano districts).	Isi.
Toad	Sopaktâlgi	Sânâktcâli					
Mole	Takosâlgi	Tâkosâli					
Skunk	Konipâlgi	Konipâli			Yûsᴀᵚ		Koni, or Hoshkoni.
Fish	Łâloâlgi				Cû	Cuyu [kuyu] hasomi	Nâni.
Snake	Tcitâlgi	Tcintâli		Ulâx ôwâts	Ca (?)		
Rabbit	Tcufâlgi				Cadjwanê	Apichi(ara) (?) (Fish phratry).	
Hickorynut	Otcîâlgi						

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English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Cane	Kohasakálgi (or Kohosálgi).	Kohasáli					
Salt	Oktcánálgi		Hape ayeksa				
Daddy-longlegs	Tápohsálálgi		Tápasola ayeksa				
Panther	Katcálgi	Kowáli	Koe ayeksa	Iciwada owáta	Wätcᵉᴀⁿ'	Yaraha hasomi (Acheha phratry).	Kō ictō.
Wildcat	Koakotcálgi		Kontcuso ayeksa		Cadᵋané		Kō intcus.
Eagle	Lámhálgi				Cä'na (?)		
Otter	Osánálgi	Osanáli			Cûlané		
	Łidjánálgi						
	Woksálgi						
Mink	Oktcûtkálgi						
Corn	Atcálgi						
Fresh Land	Kantálálgi					Uti hasomi (Earth phratry).	
Spanish moss (?)	Asunálgi						
	Nokfahálgi (or Nokfilálgi).						
Spanish (?)	Isfanálgi						Sfani (or Spani).
Turtle	Lutcálgi				Täh"ä' (Tortoise)		
Weevil (?) (or English?).	Okilisálgi						
Arrow	Łiálgi						
Pubes Hair	Inhanisálgi						
Long Dew	Sitcotcápkálgi						
	Wainkálgi						
Raven	(Kakkálgi?)						
Red Paint							
Buzzard	Suiálgi				Yᴀⁿ tī'	Apohola hasomi	
Owl							
Muklasa	Muklasálgi						
Opossum					Wätsagowaⁿ'		
Squirrel					Cäya		Fáni (Morgan).
Dog						Efaca hasomi (Acheha phrat.)	

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Partridge						Caya [Kaya] hassumi (Achebaphwst.).	
Chief							Minko (Stanl?).
Blackbird							Ohála or Okchála (Morgan).
							Halobe (Gibbs).

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To complete our survey of the clans of the southeastern area we may add those of the Cherokee. Within historic times they numbered seven, thus named according to Mooney: Ani′-Wa″ya (Wolf), Ani′-Kawĭ′ (Deer), Ani′-Tsiskwa (Bird), Ani′-Wâ′dĭ (Paint), Ani′-Sahâ′nĭ (possibly an archaic name meaning "Blue People"), Ani′-Gatâgéwĭ (frequently incorrectly interpreted "Blind Savanna"), Ani′-Gilâ′hĭ (Long-haired People).[92] Mooney believed that at an earlier time there were 14 clans, each of the seven of the later period having been formed by the fusion of two. He mentions as an instance the fusion of the Turtle Dove and Raven to form the Bird. In a very early document in the Library of Congress I find the following clans listed: Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Blind Savanna, Long Hair, Thorn Bush, and Acorn. All of these are identifiable in Mooney's list except the two last, one of which may have corresponded to his Ani′-Sahânĭ.

The Wolf, Deer, and Bird were undoubtedly equated with the Wolf, Deer, and Bird clans of the Creeks, and it is quite possible that correspondences were found for the other Cherokee divisions among the remaining Creek clans. The only hint as to the manner in which this may have been worked out is contained in information which I received from a Natchez informant living among the Cherokee. He stated that the Ani′-Wâdi corresponded to the Natchez Snake clan, the Ani′-Sahânĭ to the Panther clan, the Ani′-Gatâgéwĭ to the Raccoon clan, and the Ani′-Gilâ′hĭ to the Wind clan.

There is fragmentary information regarding clans from the Siouan tribes of the east,[93a] the Biloxi,[93b] and the Chitimacha.[93c] There were, of course, clans among the Tuscarora, Quapaw, Caddo, and some others who occupied a marginal position with reference to the Gulf area, but they need not be considered.

The Opossum appears only among the Yuchi,[94] and the Squirrel only among the Yuchi and Chickasaw, with the latter on the sole authority of Morgan.[95] A "Root clan" is referred to by Eakins, whose informants probably had in mind the Potato.[96] The Muklasâlgi are recorded only by Gatschet.[97] As Muklasa was a former Alabama town among the Upper Creeks it is probable that the designation referred properly to the people living there, irrespective of clanship. North of Florida the existence of a Buzzard clan rests upon only one or two doubtful statements. Speck enters it as one of those clans among the Yuchi the existence of which was "not generally agreed upon" by his informants.[98] So far as the Muskogee are concerned the idea that there was such a clan may have arisen from the similarity between "Sulálgi" (Buzzard people) and "Tculálgi" (Fox people), although in his list of Tuskegee clans Speck includes both. However, its undoubted existence and important position in Florida render a northward extension among the Creeks not impossible. Hitchcock is our sole authority for an Owl clan and the intimate association of this bird with witchcraft renders its adoption as an emblem by a social group in the highest degree improbable. Stiggins states that the Red Paint was one of the nine principal clans of the Muskogee.[99] Since he himself had Muskogee, or rather Natchez, blood and grew up in the Creek Nation his authority ought to be good, but I am inclined to believe that he had borrowed this name from that of the corresponding Cherokee clan. Possibly the Cherokee division was identified with some particular clan among the Creeks which in consequence sometimes received its name. In that case it was probably identified with a different clan from that equated with it by the Natchez.[1] Adair is our only authority for a Raven clan,[2] and Gatschet our only authority for the Wałakálgi.[3] For each of the names Sitcotcápkálgi, Łiálgi, Nokfahálgi, Asunálgi, Kantálálgi, and Hilisálgi, I have the authority of but one informant. The Sitcotcápkálgi was mentioned by an old Tukabahchee Indian, the Inłanisálgi, and Łiálgi, by a Seminole; the Nokfahálgi, Asunálgi, and Kantálálgi by an informant who, although a Seminole by birth, had lived most of his life with the people of Lutcapoga; and the Hilisálgi by an old Łapláko Indian now dead. The Lutcálgi (Turtle, or rather, Tortoise) was remembered by one or two of my informants, besides being mentioned by Adair,[4] and, as may be seen in the table, it also occurs among the Yuchi.[5] Several informants remembered Yanasálgi as the name of an ancient clan, and it is given by Adair and MacCauley.[6] The Fish clan is referred to by Adair,[7] was remembered by an old woman of the Texas Alabama and several Creeks of Oklahoma in 1912, and is given by Doctor Speck in his list of Yuchi clans.[8] The writer also heard of it as a Yuchi clan, and formerly it seems to have been strong among the Lower Creeks.

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[92] Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 212-213, 506-509.

[93a] Lederer in Alvord and Bidgood, The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674, p. 144.

[93b] J. O. Dorsey in 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 243-244.

[93c] Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 349.

[94] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

[95] Ibid.; Morgan, Ancient Society, vol. 1, p. 163.

[96] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 275.

[97] Gatschet, Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 156.

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[98] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

[99] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

[1] See p. 118.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 131. His remarks at this point are so general that it is uncertain who the people were among whom this clan existed. The same is true of his references to the Turtle and Bison clans. In the case of the Raven clan, he may have had in mind the former Raven clan of the Cherokee or the Blackbird clan of the Chickasaw, though the existence of this last is somewhat in doubt.

[3] Gatschet, op. cit., p. 36. In his Ms. vocabulary he suggests an origin from the term *awalita*, to share out or divide, the word which also appears in Holiwahali.

[4] Adair, op. cit., p. 15.

[5] Speck, loc. cit.

[6] Adair, loc. cit.; 5th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 507.

[7] Adair, loc. cit.

[8] Speck, loc. cit.

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One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tápàsiná', with that for daddy-longlegs, tápohsálá. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

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It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogálgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcálgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogálgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi." [609
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The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanálgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanálgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

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[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 38.

[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 155.

[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 1[illegible]; vol. IX, p. 31.

[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

thought the proper designation of the clan was Nokfilálgi, a name 615
originally applied to a mythic animal but later given to the white people. We must be a little cautious about this, however, because some of Gatschet's aged informants told him that properly the Nokfilálgi were a native tribe which disappeared long ago.[18] If the interpretation is correct we should naturally suppose that the clan originated in early intermarriages between Indians and Spaniards, but the purely conventional use of Sawanogálgi warns us against placing too much reliance upon such an hypothesis.

Clans were linked together into phratries in various ways. Many 615
were small and were considered merely as minor branches of some 184
large clan; others were coordinate in size and importance, though not necessarily of equal importance in every town. Some appear to have been almost entirely confined to certain villages, while others were represented nearly everywhere. Still more remarkable is the fact, hardly paralleled elsewhere, that the very same clans were often linked into a phratry in some towns and separated in others, sometimes even linked with different clans. The relationship of certain clans was recognized practically throughout the nation, but in the case of many others there was no such uniformity. We may divide the associations which we find into three classes: (1) The affiliations of obscure clans for which we have perhaps the authority of but one or two persons; (2) associations recognized almost universally; and (3) associations which varied from one town to another.

Of the first class were the Nokfahálgi, Asunálgi, and Kantálálgi, 615
said to be Lower Eufaula clans affiliated with the Bear. A Seminole informant stated that the name Asunálgi referred to the ási or black drink; another maintained that it was from Spanish moss, asunwa. Both of these informants, however, agreed that this clan belonged with the Bear, and the former added that it was because the female bear, when she is going to bring forth her cubs, pulls down ási bushes for a bed; hence the ási was said to be the bear's grandparent. The Inlanisálgi were connected with the Bird clan. One of my informants knew an old man who claimed that he belonged to the Hilislági or Medicine clan. He classed himself with the Bird people and this was natural since the Bird was a White or Peace clan with which we should expect medicine to be associated. The Turtle clan (Lutcálgi) is said to have been connected with the Wind. On one occasion, when a man belonging to the Wildcat clan was being tried in an Indian court, a prospective juryman presented himself who said that he belonged to the Liálgi or "Arrow people." As he claimed that this clan was connected with the Wildcat and Panther he was excused from service.

According to an old man, people were on one occasion about to kill the mink but he escaped into the cane, therefore the Mink clan

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[18] See p. 61.

615 claimed to be connected with the Cane. According to another old man, however, the Mink was akin to the Beaver. Jackson Lewis, one of the best of my informants, affirmed that the Cane clan was "kindred to and nearly the same as the Raccoon clan," while an old Seminole connected it with the Beaver and Potato. When we remember that the Raccoon and Potato were often classed together we see a reason for the association of this set of clans—Mink, Cane, Beaver, Raccoon, and Potato. According to another informant, the Cane clan in Kealedji was associated with the Mole, Raccoon, Potato, Fox, and Łidjámalgi clans, which agrees with the statement of Jackson Lewis; but I learned that in the Hitchiti town among the Seminole it was placed in one group with the Deer, Panther, and Pahosálgi. This would be an altogether different classification from that given by the others. According to Jackson Lewis, the Hickorynut clan was kindred to the Eagle. The Tcowastálgi were either identical with the Potato clan or, what is more probable, closely associated with it. At some period in the not remote past the Fox and Daddy-longlegs clans are said to have united into one which afterwards received the name Raccoon. This did not involve the Texas Alabama, and in any case can only have meant that the Fox and Daddy-longlegs combined with an already existing Raccoon clan.[14] The Yanasálgi are thought, for what reason I know not, to have belonged among the Tciloki clans to be discussed presently. Nothing more has been preserved regarding the connection of this clan, or the affiliations of the Atciálgi, Okilizálgi, Sidjotcápkálgi, or Wałakálgi, while, as we have seen, those of the Sulálgi and Muklasálgi are in doubt. The name Okilisálgi is, uncertainly, said to refer to the weevil (átci-suklaitcá), but this seems rather far-fetched and Gatschet's suggestion that it was an attempt at "English" is attractive in view of the seeming identification of a Spanish clan.[15]

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621 Before giving an account of the other clan associations—(2) and (3)—it will be necessary to explain a Creek institution which has an important bearing on this question. At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (pawa), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the

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[14] See p. 154.

[15] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 155; Ms. vocab.

rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them already noted.

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In the subjoined list I give the clan councils in all of the Creek and Seminole towns from which I was able to obtain information. Some towns are so nearly extinct that mistakes have undoubtedly been made, but the list embodies the best information to be had. Where two informants have been consulted and the testimony of these has differed considerably I have inserted the conflicting lists, numbering them (1) and (2).

CLAN COUNCILS BY TOWNS

UPPER CREEKS

White towns

Talladega:
1. Raccoon, Aktayatci.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird.
5. Alligator, Beaver.[16]
6. Deer.
7. Panther.

Abihka-in-the-West:
1. Bird, Alligator, Beaver.
2. Bear, Panther, Wind.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.

Kan-tcati:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Deer.
3. Panther.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.
6. Alligator.
7. Bird.
8. Beaver (but perhaps placed with the Bird).

Otciapofa:
1. Panther.
2. Potato.
3. Tâmi.
4. Wind.
5. Pahosa.
6. Beaver.

Otciapofa—Continued.
7. Bear.
8. Aktayatci.
9. Raccoon.
10. Deer.

Tulsa Little River:[17]
1. Bird, Eagle.
2. Deer, Pahosa, Panther, Kapitca(?).[18]
3. Wildcat.
4. Potato.
5. Raccoon.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Wind.
8. Bear.
9. Beaver.
10. Otter.[19]

Lutcapoga (1):
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bird.
5. Beaver.
6. Bear.
7. Wind.
8. Deer.

Lutcapoga (2)
1. Raccoon, Potato, Toowasta, Panther.
2. Aktayatci. Kapitca, Eagle.
3. Bear, Bird, Beaver.[20]
4. Wind.

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[16] The number of Beaver people in this town was very small.

[17] The Turkey was also represented here, but its relations are unknown.

[18] The classification of the Kapitca in this group seems very doubtful. One informant also separated the Pahosa from it, but with less reason, as may be seen if we compare the associations of the Deer and Pahosa in other places.

[19] The presence of an Otter clan here depends on the testimony of one informant, although a very good one, who stated that in this town, unlike some others, the Beaver and Otter people intermarried.

[20] In the Tulsa towns, unlike most others, the Beaver and Bird seem to have preserved their independence and therefore informant 2 is probably wrong. Which informant is right regarding the Bird and Bear it is impossible for me to determine.

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Okfuskee:

1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Bear.
5. Bird.
6. Beaver.
7. Wind.
8. Panther.
9. Aktayatci.

Abihkutci:

1. Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, Woksi, Eagle, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Bird, Beaver.
5. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
6. Deer, Pahosa, Mole.
7. Panther, Wildcat.

Nuyaka:

1. Bear.
2. Wind.
3. Bird.
4. Beaver.
5. Deer.
6. Panther.
7. Alligator.
8. Raccoon.

Pakan tallahassee (1):

1. Bird, Bear, Wolf.
2. Wind, Aktayatci.[21]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Deer.
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey(?).

Pakan tallahassee (2):

1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci.

Wiogufki (1):

1. Raccoon, Potato(?).
2. Alligator, Tâmi, Snake.
3. Bird, Pahosa.
4. Kapitca, Aktayatci.
5. Wind.
6. Beaver.
7. Bear.
8. Deer.

Wiogufki (2):

1. Bear, Beaver, Bird, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Wind.
5. Panther, Wildcat.

Asilanabi:

1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Deer(?).[21a]
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Panther.[21a]
4. Wind.
5. Aktayatci.

(Okchai and Łálogálga were probably the same as Asilanabi.)

Wiwohka:

1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Kapitca.
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Wind, Skunk.
4. Bear, Bird, Wolf.
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Snake, Beaver.
6. Deer, Pahosa.
7. Aktayatci.[22]

Tuskegee:[23]

1. Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi.
2. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci.
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Bird.
5. Wind.
6. Bear.

Koasati No. 2:

1. Wind, Bear (and all Whites).
2. Raccoon, Alligator, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, Daddy-longlegs (and all Tciloki).

Red towns

Tukabahchee:

1. Panther, Wildcat, Aktayatci.
2. Raccoon, Eagle.[24]
3. Potato, Fox.
4. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Woksi.
5. Wind, Skunk
6. Deer.
7. Bird, Beaver, Otter.[25]
8. Bear.

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[21] The association of the Wind and Aktayatci seems improbable.

[21a] But see p. 14[illegible] for a probable Deer-Panther association at Okchai.

[22] The Aktayatci perhaps belong in group 1.

[23] Speck notes in this town also the Deer, Fox, Mink, Snake, Buzzard, Skunk, and Rabbit clans.

[24] Some place the Potato in this group.

[25] There is some uncertainty as to the position of the Otter.

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Atasi (very defective):
1. Alligator, Turkey.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird, Beaver (?).
5. Aktayatci.
6. Panther.
7. Deer.
8. Raccoon, Potato.

Kealedji:
1. Mole, Raccoon, Potato,[26] Fox, Łidjâmi, Kohasa.
2. Skunk, Wind.
3. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey, Woksi.
4. Aktayatci.
5. Bear, Wolf.
6. Bird, Beaver.
7. Deer.
8. Panther.

Łaplako:[27]
1. Pahosa, Deer.
2. Beaver, Bear, Bird.[28]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Aktayatci, Kapitca (?).
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
7. Wind.

Hilibi:
1. Raccoon, Potato.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Bird.
6. Deer.

Upper Eufaula:[29]
1. Aktayatci, Potato, Raccoon.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf, Bird (?).
4. Panther.
5. Deer.
6. Tâmi, Turkey, Alligator.

Alabama (1):
1. Aktayatci, Deer.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Beaver.

Alabama (2):
1. Alligator, Wind, Bird, Turkey, Aktayatci.[30]
2. Bear, Salt, Panther,[31] Wildcat.[31]

Alabama in Texas:
1. Deer, Wolf.[32]
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Bear, Salt.
4. Alligator, Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, Turkey.
5. Wind, Skunk.

LOWER CREEKS

White towns

Kasihta:[33]
1. Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Fox, Raccoon, Beaver.
2. Wind, Fish (?).
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Panther.
5. Deer.[34]
6. Mole.

Hitchiti:
1. Pahosa, Mole, Deer.
2. Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Snake, Otter, Aktayatci.
3. Potato.
4. Panther.
5. Bear.
6. Wind

Okmulgee:[35]
1. Tâmi, Alligator.
2. Deer, Panther.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Beaver, Bird.
5. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Fox.
6. Wind.

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[26] According to one informant the Potato belonged in group 3.

[27] There were also some of the Potato clan; associations unknown.

[28] An inferior informant classified the Bird and Bear separately.

[29] The Beaver clan was also represented here formerly; it sat with the Wind, Bear, Wolf, and Bird, but whether it was linked with any or all of these is uncertain.

[30] The association of Aktayatci and Wind seems improbable, but one other case of the kind has been noted (see Pakan tallahassee).

[31] There were very few representatives of these clans in Alabama.

[32] The only representatives of the Wolf clan living in 1912 were descended from the Pascagoula tribe of Indians.

[33] The Bird clan was also represented in this town, but I did not obtain its linkage, though it sat with the Deer.

[34] Sat with 1 but could intermarry with them.

[35] Legus Perryman, probably referring to this town, said that the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator formed one council, a statement which, if true, would bring 1 and 5 together. The late David Hodge, who belonged to Okmulgee, declared that the Bird, Deer, and Aktayatci clans were all related, the women of these clans calling each other "sisters." This was denied by Perryman and seems improbable in the light of what we know of these clans elsewhere, although it is possible that the first two were so connected.

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Apalachicola:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Deer, Mole, Toad.
2. Bird, Snake, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Beaver, Kapitca.
3. Wind.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Raccoon, Potato.
6. Aktayatci.

Yuchi:
1. Bear, Wolf.
2. Deer, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat.
3. Alligator, Fish, Beaver.
4. Bird.

Red towns

Coweta (1):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.

Coweta (2):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver, Wind, Bear.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.

Lower Eufaula:
1. Wind, Otter, Skunk, Mole, Tcokote, Toad(?).
2. Bear, Nokfaha, Wolf, Salt, Fresh-land, Asunwa.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake, Alligator, Woksi.
4. Bird, Beaver, Tâmi.
5. Deer, Pahosa, Turkey, Panther, Wildcat.
6. Fox, Raccoon, Potato.

Chiaha:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatci.
2. Wolf, Bear, Deer(?).
3. Panther.
4. Bird.
5. Wind, Skunk, Fish.
6. Beaver.
7. Alligator, Tâmi.

Osochi:

(All that is known is that the Panther and Wildcat and the Bear and Wolf did not intermarry.)

SEMINOLE TOWNS

White towns

Ochesee:
1. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Otter.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Potato, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon(?).
5. Panther.
6. Deer.

Okfuskee:
1. Bird, Beaver.
2. Bear, Deer, Pahosa, Potato, Raccoon.
3. Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, Aktayatci.
4. Panther.
5. Wind.

Tallahasutci:
1. Beaver, Potato.
2. Tâmi, Alligator, Turkey.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake.
4. Wind (possibly with last).
5. Bear.
6. Bird.
7. Deer, Panther.

Hitchiti Seminole:
1. Wind, Skunk, Otter.
2. Bird, Aktayatci, Snake, Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Panther, Kohosa (Cane?), Pahosa.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Toad, Tcokote, Mole.
6. Beaver, Potato.

Red towns

Eufaula:
1. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey, Kapitca, Snake, Aktayatci.
2. Deer (probably including the Pahosa).
3. Raccoon.
4. Potato.
5. Panther.
6. Wind.
7. Bear.[36]
8. Bird.[36]

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[36] There were a few people of the Bird clan and one belonging to the Bear which had not been definitely placed, perhaps because in recent years no occasion had arisen which demanded definite allocation.

Chiaha:
1. Wind, Skunk.
2. Raccoon, Fox.
3. Potato.
4. Bird.
5. Bear.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Alligator.
8. Deer.
9. Beaver.

Liwahali:
1. Beaver, Otter, Bird, Turkey, Tâmi, Bear, Salt. 615 614
2. Wind. 621
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Potato, Raccoon.[57]
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.

Mikasuki: (Unobtainable.)

The facts are now before us; let us proceed to an analysis of them. In the following table I have recorded the number of times each association of any two clans takes place, and the number of times any two clans are recorded in each town unassociated. UC stands for "Upper Creeks," A for "Alabama," K for "Koasati," LC for "Lower Creeks," H for "Hitchiti," Y for "Yuchi," and S for "Seminole." Tq. = "Total." 615

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[57] Another informant stated that the Potato and Raccoon clans were anciently classed with the Bird.

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Wind and Skunk	6	1		2	1		1	11								
Wind and Fish				2				2						1		1
Wind and Otter				1	1		1	3	2				1		1	4
Wind and Bear	1		1	1				3	18	2		4	4	1	6	35
Wind and Deer						1		1	17	3	1	4	4		6	35
Wind and Panther	1					1		2	18	2	1	4	4		5	34
Wind and Mole				1				1	2			1	3			6
Wind and Bird		1		1				2	18		1	3	4		5	31
Wind and Alligator		1						1	17	1	1	3	4	1	7	34
Wind and Turkey		1						1	11	1		2	1		3	18
Wind and Tookote				1				1					1			1
Wind and Toad				1				1				2				2
Wind and Raccoon									19		1	4	2		5	31
Wind and Beaver				1				1	19	2	1	3	4	1	5	35
Wind and Aktayatci	1	1						2	16	1	1	4	4		6	32
Wind and Potato									15			3	4		6	28
Wind and Támi									13			3	4		3	23
Wind and Pahosa									7			1	2		3	13
Wind and Eagle									4							4
Wind and Kapitca									6			1	1		5	13
Wind and Wildcat									7	2		2	2			13
Wind and Toowasta									2			1				3
Wind and Wolf									5	1		2	3	1	1	13
Wind and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Wind and Nokfaha												1				1
Wind and Salt										2		1			1	4
Wind and Fresh-land												1				1

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Wind and Asunwa												1				1
Wind and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Wind and Woksi									3			1				4
Wind and Fish														1		1
Wind and Łidjámi									1							1
Wind and Cane									1				1			2
Wind and Daddy-longlegs										1	1					2
Bear and Wolf	6			4	3	1	1	15		1						1
Bear and Salt		2		1			1	4								
Bear and Panther	1	1						2	18	1	1	4	4	1	5	34
Bear and Bird	7			1			1	9	14	1	1	3	4		4	27
Bear and Beaver	5			1			1	7	15	2	1	4	4	1	4	31
Bear and Alligator	3							3	17	2	1	4	4	1	6	35
Bear and Tâmi	3						1	4	13			4	4		2	23
Bear and Turkey	3						1	4	9	2		2	1		2	16
Bear and Deer	1			1			1	3	17	2	1	2	4	1	5	32
Bear and Otter							1	1	2			1	2		1	6
Bear and Pahosa							1	1	7			1	2		2	12
Bear and Potato							1	1	15			4	4		5	28
Bear and Raccoon							1	1	20		1	4	2		4	31
Bear and Aktayatci									17	1	1	4	4		6	33
Bear and Daddy-longlegs										1	1					2
Bear and Asunwa				1				1								
Bear and Fresh-land				1				1								
Bear and Nokfaha				1				1								
Bear and Fish												2		1		3
Bear and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Bear and Wildcat									7			2	2			11
Bear and Skunk									6			2	1		1	10
Bear and Mole									2			2	3			7
Bear and Tookote												1	1			2

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Associations of Creek Clans—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Bear and Toad												1	2			3
Bear and Kapitca									6			1	1		5	13
Bear and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Bear and Woksi									3			1				4
Bear and Eagle									4							4
Bear and Toowasta									2							2
Bear and Łidjámi									1							1
Bear and Cane									1				1			2
Panther and Wildcat	6	2		3	2			13	1							1
Panther and Deer	1		1	2	3	1	1	9	15	1		2	1		4	23
Panther and Mole					1			1	2			1	2			5
Panther and Raccoon	1		1					2	18			4	2		4	28
Panther and Potato	1							1	13			4	4		5	26
Panther and Pahosa	1			1	1			3	5				1		3	9
Panther and Alligator			1					1	16	2		4	4	1	5	32
Panther and Beaver			1					1	18	1		4	4	1	4	32
Panther and Nokfaha												1				1
Panther and Łidjámi									1							1
Panther and Bird			1					1	18	1		3	4		4	30
Panther and Aktayatci	1		1					2	15	1		4	4		5	29
Panther and Salt		1						1		1		1			1	3
Panther and Turkey				1				1	11	2		1	1		3	18
Panther and Cane					1			1	1							1
Panther and Daddy-longlegs			1					1		1						1
Panther and Toowasta	1							1	1							1
Panther and Kapitca	1							1	4			1	1		5	11
Panther and Wolf									4	1		3	3	1	1	13

Panther and Fish												2		1		3
Panther and Tâmi									12			4	4		3	23
Panther and Fox									3			4	1			8
Panther and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Panther and Skunk									6	1		2	1			10
Panther and Mole									2			2	2			6
Panther and Tcokote												1	1			2
Panther and Toad					1			1				1	1			2
Panther and Fresh-land												1				1
Panther and Asunwa												1				1
Panther and Snake									1			1	3		5	10
Panther and Woksi									3			1				4
Panther and Eagle									4							4
Deer and Pahosa	5			1	2		3	11	2							2
Deer and Mole	1				2			3	1			2	1			4
Deer and Tcokote												1	1			2
Deer and Toad					1		1	2				1	1			2
Deer and Wildcat				2	2			4	6	1						7
Deer and Bird	1		1					2	17			3	4		6	30
Deer and Beaver	1		1					2	16	2		4	4	1	5	33
Deer and Alligator	1		1					2	16	1		4	4	1	6	32
Deer and Tâmi	1							1	12			4	4		3	23
Deer and Turkey	1			1				2	10	1		1	1		3	16
Deer and Aktayatci		1	1					2	15			4	4		6	29
Deer and Wolf		1		1				2	5			2	3	1	1	12
Deer and Raccoon			1				1	2	20			4	2		4	30
Deer and Cane					1			1	1							1
Deer and Daddy-longlegs			1					1		1						1
Deer and Potato								1	14			4	4		5	27
Deer and Kapitca	1							1	4			1	1		5	11
Deer and Lidjâmi									1							1
Deer and Fish												2		1		3

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Deer and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Deer and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Deer and Skunk												2		1		3
Deer and Nokfaha												1				1
Deer and Salt										1		1			1	3
Deer and Fresh-land												1				1
Deer and Asunwa												1				1
Deer and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Deer and Woksi									3			1				4
Deer and Eagle									3							3
Deer and Tcowasta									1							1
Bird and Beaver	10		1	2	3		3	19	9			1	1		2	13
Bird and Snake					3			3	2			1			5	8
Bird and Alligator	4	1	1		3			9	16			3	1		6	26
Bird and Aktayatci		1	1		2			4	16			3	2		6	27
Bird and Turkey	3	1			1		1	6	10			2			2	14
Bird and Tämi	3			1	3		1	8	12			2	1		2	17
Bird and Kapitca					1			1	6			1			5	12
Bird and Eagle	1							1	3							3
Bird and Wolf	3							3	3			2	3		1	9
Bird and Pahosa	1							1	5			1	2		3	11
Bird and Otter	1				1		1	3	1			1	1		1	4
Bird and Salt								1		1		1				2
Bird and Potato							1	1	14			3	4		5	26
Bird and Raccoon			1				1	2	19			3	2		4	28
Bird and Daddy-longlegs			1					1								
Bird and Wildcat									7	1		2	2			12

Bird and Skunk									6			2	1		1	10
Bird and Fox									3			3	1		1	8
Bird and Mole									2			1	3			6
Bird and Tookote												1	1			2
Bird and Toad												1	2			3
Bird and Nokfahe												1				2
Bird and Fresh-land												1				2
Bird and Asunwa												1				1
Bird and Wokai									3			1				4
Bird and Toowasta									2							2
Bird and Lidjàmi									1							1
Bird and Cane									1				1			2
Bird and Fish												1				1
Beaver and Potato				1	1		2	4	13			3	3		3	22
Beaver and Tàmi	5			2	2		1	10	8			2	2		1	13
Beaver and Aktayatci			1	1	1			3	15	1		3	3		5	27
Beaver and Fox				1				1	3			3	1		1	8
Beaver and Alligator	7	1	1	1	2	1		13	10			3	2		5	20
Beaver and Raccoon			1	1			1	3	18			3	2		3	26
Beaver and Snake	1				2			3	1			1	1		4	7
Beaver and Turkey	4	1			1		1	7	6			2			1	9
Beaver and Kapitca					1			1	6			1			4	11
Beaver and Fish						1		1				2				2
Beaver and Otter	1				1		1	3	1			1	1		1	4
Beaver and Salt							1	1		1		1				2
Beaver and Daddy-longlegs		1	1					2								
Beaver and Wildcat									6	1		2	2			11
Beaver and Wolf									3	1		3	3	1	1	12
Beaver and Skunk									5	1		2	1		1	10
Beaver and Mole									2			2	3			7
Beaver and Tookote												1	1			2
Beaver and Toad												1	2			3

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Beaver and Nokfaha												1				1
Beaver and Fresh-land												1				1
Beaver and Asunwa												1				1
Beaver and Woksi									3			1				4
Beaver and Pahosa									7			1	2		2	11
Beaver and Eagle									4							4
Beaver and Tcowasta									2							2
Beaver and Łidjámi									1							1
Beaver and Cane									1				1			2
Alligator and Támi	13			3	4		2	22				1			1	2
Alligator and Turkey	12	2		1	1		2	18				1			1	2
Alligator and Potato				2				2	13			2	4		6	25
Alligator and Aktayatci		1	1	3	2		4	11	15			1	2		2	20
Alligator and Fox				2				2	3			2	1		1	7
Alligator and Snake	2			1	3		4	10							1	1
Alligator and Raccoon			1	2				3	18			2	2		5	27
Alligator and Kapitca				1	1		4	6	4						1	5
Alligator and Fish						1		1				2				2
Alligator and Woksi	2			1				3	1							1
Alligator and Otter					1			1	1			1	1		2	5
Alligator and Eagle									2							2
Alligator and Tcowasta									1							1
Alligator and Salt										2		1			1	4
Alligator and Daddy-longlegs		1	1					2								
Alligator and Wildcat									6	1		2	2		1	12
Alligator and Skunk									6	1		2	1		1	11
Alligator and Mole									2			2	3			7

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Alligator and Tcokote												1	1			2
Alligator and Toad												1	2			3
Alligator and Nokfaha												1				1
Alligator and Fresh-land												1				1
Alligator and Asunwa												1				1
Alligator and Pahosa									5			1	2		3	11
Alligator and Wolf									6	1		3	3		1	14
Alligator and Cane									1				1			2
Alligator and Łidjâmi									1							1
Tâmi and Turkey	11			1	1		3	16				1				1
Tâmi and Potato				2	1			3	12			2	4		3	21
Tâmi and Aktayatci				2	2		1	5	14			2	2		2	20
Tâmi and Fox				2	1			3	3			2	1			6
Tâmi and Raccoon				2	1			3	14			2	2		2	20
Tâmi and Snake	2				3		1	6				1			2	3
Tâmi and Kapitca					1		1	2	4			1			2	7
Tâmi and Woksi	2							2	1			1				2
Tâmi and Otter					1		1	2				1	1			2
Tâmi and Salt							1	1				1				1
Tâmi and Wildcat									6			2	2			10
Tâmi and Skunk									6			2	1			9
Tâmi and Mole									2			2	3			7
Tâmi and Tcokote												1	1			2
Tâmi and Toad												1	2			3
Tâmi and Nokfaha												1				1
Tâmi and Fresh-land												1				1
Tâmi and Asunwa												1				1
Tâmi and Pahosa									6			1	2		2	11
Tâmi and Eagle									2							2
Tâmi and Łidjâmi									1							1
Tâmi and Cane									1				1			2
Tâmi and Wolf									6			3	3			12

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Tâmi and Toowasta									1							1
Tâmi and Fish												2				2
Turkey and Snake	1				1		1	3				1			2	3
Turkey and Kapitca					1		1	2	3			1			2	6
Turkey and Woksi	2							2	1			1				2
Turkey and Pahosa				1				1	4						2	6
Turkey and Salt							1	1		2		1				3
Turkey and Aktayatci		1		1			1	3	12			1	1		2	16
Turkey and Racooon				1				1	12			1	1		2	16
Turkey and Potato				1				1	10			1	1		3	15
Turkey and Otter							1	1	1			1				2
Turkey and Daddy-longlegs		1						1								
Turkey and Wildcat				1				1	5	2		1	1			9
Turkey and Skunk									6			1				7
Turkey and Wolf									5	1		1	1			8
Turkey and Mole									2			1	1			4
Turkey and Tcokote												1				1
Turkey and Toad												1	1			2
Turkey and Nokfaha												1				1
Turkey and Fresh-land												1				1
Turkey and Asunwa												1				1
Turkey and Eagle									2							2
Turkey and Toowasta									1							1
Turkey and Fox				1				1	2			2				4
Turkey and Łidjâmi									1							1
Turkey and Cane									1							1
Aktayatci and Kapitca	4			1			5	10	2				1			3

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Aktayatci and Woksi	1			1				2	2							2
Aktayatci and Snake				1	2		5	8	2				1			3
Aktayatci and Potato	3			3	1			7	11			1	3		6	21
Aktayatci and Fox	1			3	1			5	2			1			1	4
Aktayatci and Raccoon	4		1	3	1			9	13			1	1		5	20
Aktayatci and Eagle	2							2	2							2
Aktayatci and Otter					1			1	2			1	1		2	6
Aktayatci and Wildcat	1							1	6	1		2	2			11
Aktayatci and Daddy-longlegs			1					1								
Aktayatci and Salt										1		1			1	3
Aktayatci and Skunk									5			2	1		1	9
Aktayatci and Mole									2			2	3			7
Aktayatci and Pahosa									7			1	2		3	13
Aktayatci and Tcokote												1	1			2
Aktayatci and Toad												1	2			3
Aktayatci and Nokfaha												1				1
Aktayatci and Fresh-land												1				1
Aktayatci and Asunwa												1				1
Aktayatci and Wolf									6			2	3		1	12
Aktayatci and Tcowasta									2							2
Aktayatci and Cane									1				1			2
Aktayatci and Łidjámi									1							1
Aktayatci and Fish												2				2
Raccoon and Fish												2				2
Raccoon and Potato	12			4	2		3	21	3						2	5
Raccoon and Woksi	1							1	2			1				3
Raccoon and Eagle	2							2	2							2
Raccoon and Kapitca	2							2	4			1	1		4	10
Raccoon and Mole	1							1	1			2	1			4
Raccoon and Fox	2			4	1		1	8	1							1
Raccoon and Pahosa							1	1	7			1			2	10
Raccoon and Daddy-longlegs			1					1								

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Raccoon and Łidjâmi	1							1								
Raccoon and Cane	1							1								
Raccoon and Tcowasta	2							2								
Raccoon and Wildcat									6			2	2			10
Raccoon and Otter									1			1			2	4
Raccoon and Skunk									6			2			1	9
Raccoon and Salt												1			1	2
Raccoon and Snake									2			2			4	8
Raccoon and Tcokote												1				1
Raccoon and Toad												1	1			2
Raccoon and Nokfaha												1				1
Raccoon and Fresh-land												1				1
Raccoon and Asunwa												1				1
Raccoon and Wolf									6			3	2		1	12
Potato and Fox	3			4	1			8							1	1
Potato and Woksi	1							1	2			1				3
Potato and Eagle	1							1	3							3
Potato and Kapitca	2							2	3			1	1		5	10
Potato and Pahosa							1	1	6			1	2		2	11
Potato and Tcowasta	2							2								
Potato and Łidjâmi	1							1								
Potato and Cane	1							1					1			1
Potato and Skunk									5			2	1		1	9
Potato and Wildcat									5			2	2			9
Potato and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Potato and Mole	1							1	1			2	3			6
Potato and Salt												1			1	2

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Potato and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Potato and Tcokote												1	1			2
Potato and Toad												1	2			3
Potato and Nokfaha												1				1
Potato and Fish												2				2
Potato and Fresh-land												1				1
Potato and Asunwa												1				1
Potato and Wolf									5			3	3		1	12
Fox and Łidjámi	1							1								
Fox and Cane	1							1								
Fox and Mole	1							1	1			2				3
Fox and Wildcat									2			2	1			5
Fox and Otter									1			1				2
Fox and Skunk									4			2			1	7
Fox and Salt												1				1
Fox and Snake												1				1
Fox and Pahosa									1			1				2
Fox and Tcokote												1				1
Fox and Toad												1				1
Fox and Nokfaha												1				1
Fox and Fresh-land												1				1
Fox and Asunwa												1				1
Fox and Wolf									2			3	1			6
Fox and Fish												2				2
Fox and Eagle	1							1	1							1
Fox and Woksi	1							1	2							2
Fox and Kapitca	1							1				1				1
Wolf and Fish												2				2
Wolf and Nokfaha				1				1								
Wolf and Asunwa				1				1								
Wolf and Fresh-land				1				1								
Wolf and Salt				1				1		1						1

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Wolf and Wildcat									3	1		1	2			7
Wolf and Skunk									4	1		2	1			8
Wolf and Mole									2			2	2			6
Wolf and Tcokote												1	1			2
Wolf and Toad												1	2			3
Wolf and Pahosa									2			1	1			4
Wolf and Otter												1	1		1	3
Wolf and Kapitca									2			1	1		1	5
Wolf and Snake									1			1	2		1	5
Wolf and Eagle									1							1
Wolf and Tcowasta									1							1
Wolf and Woksi									2			1				3
Wolf and Lidjámi									1							1
Wolf and Cane									1				1			2
Wolf and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Mole and Tcokote				1	1			2								
Mole and Toad				1	2			3								
Mole and Pahosa	1				1			2				1	1			2
Mole and Wildcat					1			1	1			1				2
Mole and Eagle									1							1
Mole and Otter				1				1					2			2
Mole and Skunk				1				1	2				1			3
Mole and Lidjámi	1							1								
Mole and Cane	1							1					1			1
Mole and Nokfaha												1				1
Mole and Salt												1				1
Mole and Fresh-land												1				1

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Mole and Asunwa												1				1
Mole and Kapitca									1			1	1			3
Mole and Snake												1	3			4
Mole and Woksi									2			1				3
Mole and Fish												1				1
Snake and Kapitca				1	1		5	7	2							2
Snake and Woksi				1				1								
Snake and Otter					1			1				1	1		2	4
Snake and Pahosa									2			1	2		3	8
Snake and Wildcat									1			1	1			3
Snake and Skunk									1			1	1			3
Snake and Tcokote												1	1			2
Snake and Toad												1	2			3
Snake and Nokfaha												1				1
Snake and Salt												1			1	2
Snake and Fresh-land												1				1
Snake and Asunwa												1				1
Snake and Tcowasta									1							1
Snake and Cane												1				1
Kapitca and Eagle	2							2	1							1
Kapitca and Woksi	1			1				2								
Kapitca and Tcowasta	1							1	1							1
Kapitca and Wildcat									4			1	1			6
Kapitca and Otter									1			1			2	4
Kapitca and Skunk									2			1				3
Kapitca and Tcokote												1				1
Kapitca and Toad												1	1			2
Kapitca and Nokfaha												1				1
Kapitca and Fresh-land												1				1
Kapitca and Asunwa												1				1
Kapitca and Salt												1			1	2
Kapitca and Pahosa	1							1	4			1			3	8

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Associations of Creek Clans—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Pahosa and Cane					1			1								
Pahosa and Wildcat				1				1	4							4
Pahosa and Otter									1			1	2		1	5
Pahosa and Skunk									2			1	1			4
Pahosa and Tookote												1	1			2
Pahosa and Toad												1	1			2
Pahosa and Nokfaha												1				1
Pahosa and Salt												1			1	2
Pahosa and Fresh-land												1				1
Pahosa and Asunwa												1				1
Pahosa and Wokai									1			1				2
Pahosa and Eagle									2							2
Pahosa and Toowasta									1							1
Eagle and Wokai	1							1	1							1
Eagle and Wildcat									3							3
Eagle and Otter									2							2
Eagle and Toowasta									1							1
Eagle and Skunk									2							2
Skunk and Fish				1				1								
Skunk and Otter				1	1			2								
Skunk and Tookote				1				1					1			1
Skunk and Toad				1				1					1			1
Skunk and Salt										1		1				2
Skunk and Wildcat									3	1		1				5
Skunk and Nokfaha												1				1
Skunk and Fresh-land												1				1
Skunk and Asunwa												1				1

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Skunk and Wokśi									3			1				4
Skunk and Lidjámi									1							1
Skunk and Cane									1				1			2
Skunk and Nokfaha												1				1
Skunk and Toowasta									1							1
Skunk and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Otter and Tookote				1				1					1			1
Otter and Toad				1				1					1			1
Otter and Salt							1	1				1				1
Otter and Wildcat									2			1				3
Otter and Fish																
Otter and Nokfaha												1				1
Otter and Fresh-land												1				1
Otter and Asunwa												1				1
Otter and Wokśi									1			1				2
Salt and Nokfaha				1				1								
Salt and Fresh-land				1				1								
Salt and Asunwa				1				1								
Salt and Wildcat		1						1		1		1				2
Salt and Wokśi												1				1
Salt and Tookote												1				1
Salt and Toad												1				1
Salt and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Wildcat and Tookote												1				1
Wildcat and Toad					1			1				1				1
Wildcat and Nokfaha												1				1
Wildcat and Fresh-land												1				1
Wildcat and Asunwa												1				1
Wildcat and Wokśi									2			1				3
Wildcat and Toowasta									1			1				2
Wildcat and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Tookote and Toad				1	1			2								

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*Tc*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*Tc*
Tookote and Nokfaha												1				1
Tookote and Fresh-land												1				1
Tookote and Asunwa												1				1
Tookote and Woksi												1				1
Tookote and Cane													1			1
Toad and Cane													1			1
Toad and Nokfaha												1				1
Toad and Fresh-land												1				1
Toad and Asunwa												1				1
Toad and Woksi												1				1
Woksi and Cane									1							1
Woksi and Łidjámi									1							1
Woksi and Nokfaha												1				1
Woksi and Fresh-land												1				1
Woksi and Asunwa												1				1
Nokfaha and Fresh-land				1				1								
Nokfaha and Asunwa				1				1								
Fresh-land and Asunwa				1				1								
Cane and Łidjámi	1							1								

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The Bear and Wolf were associated almost everywhere. The latter, while very much smaller, was, strangely enough, called the "uncle" of the former, which in turn was its "nephew." The Wildcat and Panther were also associated and again it was the smaller, the Wildcat, which was the "uncle."[38] This was also true of the Skunk, which was always reckoned as part of the Wind and was the "uncle" of it. Such a connection is remembered even by the Alabama in Texas. A well-nigh universal association was also formed between the Alligator, Tàmi, and Turkey. In this group the Tàmi were said to be the "uncles" by one informant and the Alligator by another. While the other associations appear to be natural, indicated by the related nature of the animals, one is at first puzzled to know what connection could have been found between the Alligator and the Turkey. The word tàmi suggests a large flying thing, hence the connection of Tàmi and Turkey is explicable. According to one informant the linking of the other two was because both the alligator and the turkey come from eggs, and if this was the real reason the Creeks had made one step toward determining those intimate relations which we now know to exist biologically between birds and reptiles. In connection with the use of terms of relationship for entire clans Stiggins's remark to the effect that "all grown women of the Wind family are to be called grandmother by all the other families" is of value. "All the families," he adds, "are connected as friends or some distant relation throughout the nation."[39] In his version of the migration legend Hawkins's Kasihta informant says that the Coweta Indians chose the Fish clan to supply their chiefs,[40] and in Gatschet's plan of the Kasiḫta square ground it occupies the northern half of the chiefs' arbor and is given as that from which the "vice-chief" was chosen.[41] Jackson Lewis told me that it was kindred to the Alligator, and my Yuchi informant placed it in one phratry with the Alligator and Beaver. The Cowẹta and Kasihta Indians declared, however, that it was a minor branch of the Wind clan, and this seems to be the general opinion. It is borne out to some extent by Hawkins's statement quoted above, coupled with the fact that in later times Coweta chiefs were selected from the Wind. The same thing is perhaps indicated by the further fact that in Kasihta it seems to have shared the functions of heniha with the Wind. Some Creeks deny that there was a Rabbit clan, and explain the use of such a term as a mere joke, since the Rabbit was "trickster" among all southeastern Indians. Others, however, and apparently the better informed, affirm that

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[38] In explanation of this association Mr. McCombs told me that all creatures with claws were considered kindred and hence the clans named from them were also akin, but this would apply equally to the Bear, Panther, Raccoon and others which were rarely brought together.

[39] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

[40] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 83; see p. 30.

[41] Gatschet, Mig. Leg., vol. II, p. 182.

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there was really a clan of the name and that, like the Skunk and Fish, it was a minor division of the Wind. Among the Hitchiti-speaking people and the Lower Eufaula Indians were three small clans called Mole, Toad, and Tcokote. The two former are uniformly said to have belonged together.[43] According to one of my informants the Tcokote was distinct, but those better qualified to pass an opinion declared that it belonged to the same group and one went so far as to state that Tcokote was another name for the Toad clan. The way in which the Mole is said to have split from the rest has been already related. The Mole and Toad—and the Tcokote also, if the majority of my informants are correct—usually formed one phratry with the Deer.

A most perplexing complex included the Fox, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci. Some of the older people state that in their youth the Fox clan was much more prominent but declined in later years, while the Raccoon and Potato clans rose into prominence in its place. I have already mentioned the supposed origin of the Raccoon from the union of the Fox and Daddy-longlegs and my reasons for doubting it, but there can be no question regarding the close connection that existed between the two former, for in eight of the nine cases in which the Fox clan is mentioned in my lists it belongs to the same phratry as the Raccoon. The connection between the Potato and Fox was equally close; according to my records they were in separate phratries in only one town, and that a settlement of the Seminole. The Raccoon and Potato clans intermarried in Tukabahchee, at least in late times, but almost everywhere else they were considered to belong to one phratry. In Łapłako the Raccoon people were denominated "uncles" by the Potato people. The only other exceptions which my lists contain are from towns where the information is least trustworthy. According to Legus Perryman the Potato clan had come from the Raccoon; in fact he gave this as an occurrence which "all admit." The same informant also stated, as a fact "well known," that the Aktayatci clan had come from the Fox, but this is in the highest degree doubtful, though it is true that in some towns the Aktayatci was linked up with the Fox as well as the Raccoon and Potato. In fact the Aktayatci is found in three different positions—independent, associated with the Raccoon, Fox, and Potato, or associated with the Alligator and their allies and the Snake. In Kasihta, Coweta, and one or two other towns the three groups are brought together in one phratry, this clan perhaps being the ground of the association. Among Seminole towns the association of the Aktayatci with the Alligator and Snake is especially marked, and this can be accounted for very well if the explanation of the name Aktayatci given me by an old Seminole is correct. He interpreted it to mean "something traveling about," reference being intended to the water moccasin. Knowing as we do how often secondary interpretations are given by primitive people to terms the actual meaning of which has been forgotten we can not feel sure that this explanation is the true one, but there is reason to believe that it represents the opinion of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles among whom the association took place and therefore it at least gives their justification for that particular association.[a] It also explains the association of the Aktayatci and Alligator. In 11 cases they are placed in the same phratry; in 20 cases they are separated.

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[43] Gatschet's informants and mine all agreed on this.

It should be noticed that this linkage takes place principally in Lower Creek and Seminole towns, while the separation is mainly among the Upper Creeks. The Kapitca, a name which by some is interpreted "lye drip" or "ashes," also appear oftenest among the Seminole, though they are mentioned as well in six Upper Creek towns, one Lower Creek town, and one Hitchiti town. In all but 3 of the 13 towns in which they and the Aktayatci occur together the two are in the same phratry, and one of the exceptions is a town with an imperfect record. They are associated with the Snake clan in 7 out of 9 cases. The Woksi were a comparatively obscure clan not recorded from many towns. Jackson Lewis said that they were "almost the same" as the Aktayatci. They are in fact found in the same group with this clan and the Kapitca in Abihkutci and Lower Eufaula. In Kealedji they are separated and put with the Alligator, but, knowing the frequent association of the Alligator and Aktayatci, this is susceptible of explanation. The Daddy-longlegs is one of those clans most largely represented among the Texas Alabama, but it is barely remembered by the Alabama and Koasati of Oklahoma. According to a Koasati informant in Oklahoma this clan was "the same as the Aktayatci and Alligator," and his statement is important because it agrees with the classification remembered by the Texas Alabama in accordance with which they formed one phratry with the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver. The Łidjämi was a small clan which seems to have been found principally in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, and some related towns. According to current report they were a branch of the Raccoon. Another clan connected with the Raccoon was the Eagle. One of my informants placed this with the Bird, a natural enough assumption, but that he was mistaken is shown both by the direct testimony of better informed individuals and by certain supplementary considerations. In the first place Jackson Lewis, whose evidence is always valuable, stated that this was the leader among the Tciloki clans, in the dual division to be explained presently. The Bird, on the contrary, was one of the leading clans on the opposite side, and, as a mark of this distinction, in the tcitahaia, the so-called "feather dance," those who belonged on the Tciloki side carried eagle feathers[43a] on their wands while those who belonged on the opposite side, the White side, carried white crane feathers. The leading position ascribed to the Eagle by Jackson Lewis is explained by Hawkins's statement to the effect that in [622] his day the chiefs of Tukabahchee, the leading town of the Upper Creeks, were selected from it.[44] At the present time, however, Tukabahchee chiefs are selected from the Raccoon clan, a fact easily accounted for if the Eagle and Raccoon were closely related. Indeed, one of my best informants gave this very reason. In my lists the Eagle and Raccoon are found classed together at Abihkutci. At Lutcapoga it is said that the Eagle was placed with the Aktayatci and Kapitca, but, as we have seen, these were sometimes classed with the Raccoon and Potato. The Salt clan seems to have been particularly prominent in the Alabama tribe. Legus Perryman stated that it was a branch of the Bear, and he is confirmed in every one of the four instances in which the two names occur together in my lists. It is particularly important to obeserve that this association is preserved by the Alabama Indians in Texas. Jackson Lewis classed the Otter with "the Alligator and other water clans," and one might naturally expect it, but as a matter of fact in three of the seven cases which I have recorded it is placed in one phratry with the Wind and Skunk, while in three of the others it is with the Bird and Beaver. All of these clans are White clans; I am therefore of the opinion that the Otter was also considered a White clan and was attached to the others on account of some supposed resemblance to the Skunk and Beaver.

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[a] The prefix ak- signifies motion into water or something down in the water and hence bears out the suggestion very well. Ayatci means "to travel about" but this leaves the t unexplained. Perhaps tayatci comes rather from tayat, abundant, sufficient.

Native informants generally state that the Pahosa are the same as, a part of, or kindred to, the Deer, and this testimony is confirmed by my lists where the two clans are linked together in 11 out of 13 cases in which they are both mentioned, the two exceptions being probably due to imperfect information from the towns concerned. According to Kasihta yahola the Deer people called the Pahosa their "uncles" and the Pahosa called the Deer people their "nephews." The connection of the Mole, Toad, and Tcokote with the Deer has been referred to. The Mole also appears once with the Wind and once with the Raccoon.

The position of the Beaver clan is somewhat peculiar. It was particularly prominent in the towns of the Tulsa group, where it usually supplied the chiefs, and in these towns it ordinarily occurs in a separate phratry. Elsewhere, however, it is so commonly associated with the Bird that many Creeks consider the connection axiomatic. The Beaver people are said to have called the Bird people their "uncles"

[43a] And also, it is said, buzzard feathers.

[44] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69.

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while the Bird people called the Beaver people their "nephews." A saying of one of my informants apropos of this connection should be quoted, to the effect that "anything in contact with water is supposed to be akin to birds." Presumably the birds to which he referred were water birds, since white crane feathers were a symbol of the White clans. Where the Beaver is not linked with the Bird and where it does not stand by itself it is usually placed with the Alligator on account of this same association with water. Altogether it occurs thirteen times with the Alligator, nineteen times with the Bird, and eleven times separated from both. Its associations with other clans are not nearly so pronounced. One of my informants said that the Bird and Beaver "sometimes claimed the Potato were of one phratry with themselves," but this assertion receives comparatively little support from the tables, except perhaps in the case of the Beaver.

While the Panther clan ordinarily stands apart from all others except the Wildcat, in some towns an association exists with the Deer which is evidently more than accidental. Although the number of times this linking takes place totals only 9 as against 23 cases in which it is absent, the important fact is that wherever the Panther is linked with another clan—leaving out of consideration the Wildcat—that clan is almost always the Deer. It may also be significant that this linking is more pronounced among the Hitchiti towns—in three out of four—than elsewhere. This association was also confirmed by an Okchai Indian named Barney Leader, who said: "The story is that Panther and Deer lived together as friends, but at noon Panther jumped upon Deer and killed him. So the Panther and Deer clans are one until noon and after that separate. Until noon the same terms of relationship are extended over both clans." In Texas the Deer is linked with the Wolf instead of with the Panther and this happens twice among the Oklahoma Creeks. In consequence, one or two cases are found in which this clan is associated with the Bear.

The Bear clan usually stands clearly apart from all groups except as already noted. In some Upper Creek towns, however, particularly the group to which Pakan tallahassee, Fish Pond, and Wiwohka belong, there is an association with the Bird and Beaver, the Bear-Bird association occurring seven times out of twenty-one among the Upper Creeks and the Bear-Beaver five times out of twenty. This association is to be explained, I think, by the fact that these clans were all White clans. Although not even hinted by any of my informants, material which I collected from the Alabama and Koasati Indians in Texas and Louisiana seems to suggest a repugnance to marriage between persons of the Bear and Panther clans.

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The Alabama have a town in Polk County, Texas, with scattering representatives throughout southeastern Louisiana, while the Koasati have a town in Louisiana, but a few relatives living with the Texas Alabama. I was able to secure a very satisfactory statement of the clan affiliations of most of these Indians, the testimony of my several informants agreeing very well, and this information is included in the following tables. While there are undoubtedly some omissions, they include, on the other hand, as many deceased members of the two tribes as my informants could recall.

ALABAMA

Clan	Living in Texas	Living in Louisiana	Total
Bear	53	11	64
Daddy-longlegs	42	5	47
Deer	36	6	42
Panther	34	3	37
Beaver	23	1	24
Salt	11	3	14
Wind	9	1	10
Wildcat	5	--------	5
Total	213	30	243

KOASATI

Clan	Living in Texas	Living in Louisiana	Total
Wildcat	6	20	26
Beaver	6	18	24
Turkey	2	19	21
Panther	2	4	6
Wind	4	2	6
Bear	3	1	4
Salt	1	2	3
Deer	--------	1	1
Wolf	1	--------	1
Alligator	1	--------	1
Total	26	67	93

In the Alabama town were also three members of the Wolf clan, but they belonged properly to the old Pascagoula tribe and therefore are not listed. In the Alabama table most of the children are included and in the Koasati table most of them are left out. This accounts in part for the greater apparent population of the Alabama, although, as a matter of fact, the actual figures are somewhat in their favor.

The contrasts between these two tables are rather striking. Thus the three most populous Alabama clans, Bear, Daddy-longlegs, and Deer, are poorly represented among the Koasati, the second of them not at all. The Salt also seems to be rather an Alabama than a Koasati clan. On the other hand, the Wildcat, the leading Koasati clan, is represented by only five persons among the Alabama, and I have reason to believe that they are really Koasati. The Panther clan is very well represented in Texas, and the relationship between it and the Wildcat was considered so close that informants sometimes gave the affiliations of a person as Panther, sometimes as Wildcat. It is now impossible to say whether the Wildcat clan of the Koasati was originally distinct from the Panther clan of the Alabama, or whether the Koasati merely preferred to use the name Wildcat, the Alabama choosing rather that of Panther. The Beaver and Wind are the clans represented most evenly in the two tribes, though the representatives of the Wind among the Koasati are now deceased. 615 614

From the Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas and Louisiana I collected records of 95 marriages, exclusive of some unions between Indians and Negroes. This information is contained in the following list, the clan of the male being placed first. Individuals of the Koasati tribe are distinguished by the letter (K), and those of the Pascagoula tribe by the letter (P). The rest are Alabama. 615 614 582

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	5	
Daddy-longlegs–Bear	4	
		9
Deer–Bear	4	
Bear–Deer	2	
		6
Bear–Beaver	4	
Bear–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Beaver (K)	5	
Beaver (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Wildcat (K)	4	
Wildcat (K)–Turkey (K)	2	
		6
Deer–Beaver	1	
Deer–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Deer	3	
		5
Deer–Panther	3	
Panther–Deer	1	
		4
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	2	
		4
Bear–Wind	2	
Bear–Wind (K)	2	
		4
Beaver (K)–Wildcat (K)	1	
Wildcat (K)–Beaver (K)	3	
		4
Beaver–Salt	2	
Salt (K)–Beaver (K)	2	
		4
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	1	
		3
Wind–Panther	2	
Wind (K)–Panther	1	
		3
Panther–Turkey (K)	1	
Panther (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		2
Deer–Wind	1	
Wind (K)–Deer	1	
		2
Panther (K)–Beaver (K)	1	
Panther–Beaver (K)	1	
		2
Wolf (P)–Wind	1	
Wolf (K)–Wind (K)	1	
		2
Bear–Turkey (K)	1	
Turkey (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		2
Salt–Wildcat (K)		2
Daddy-longlegs–Panther (K)		1
Deer–Alligator (K)		1
Wildcat (K)–Deer		1
Wolf (P)–Panther		1
Bear–Wildcat (K)		1
Wolf (P)–Daddy-longlegs		1
Wolf (P)–Bear		1
Salt–Wind		1
Salt–Turkey (K)		1
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey (K)		1
Beaver (K)–Lost Beaver (K)		1
Panther–Panther		1
Wildcat (K)–Wildcat (K)		1
Bear–Bear		1
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs		1
Deer–Choctaw		2
Choctaw–Bear		2
		95

This includes 42 marriages in which both individuals were Alabama Indians, 25 in which both were Koasati, 20 between Alabama and Koasati, 4 between Alabama and Pascagoula, and 4 between Alabama and Choctaw.

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Excluding unions with Choctaw, the number of marriages into which each clan entered is as follows:

Beaver	31
Bear	30
Deer	23
Daddy-longlegs	20
Turkey	18
Wildcat	15
Panther	14
Wind	12
Salt	8
Wolf	5
Alligator	1

It will now be instructive to ascertain how the marriages of each clan were distributed among the other clans, and this is shown by the following tables:

Beaver–Bear	6	(A, K, A–K)
Beaver–Turkey	6	(K)
Beaver–Deer	5	(A, A–K)
Beaver–Wildcat	4	(K)
Beaver–Salt	4	(A, K)
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	3	(A)
Beaver–Panther	2	(K, A–K)
Beaver–Lost Beaver	1	(K)
Beaver–Wind	0	
Beaver–Wolf	0	
Beaver–Alligator	0	
	31	

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	9	(A)
Bear–Deer	6	(A)
Bear–Beaver	6	(A, K, A–K)
Bear–Wind	4	(A, A–K)
Bear–Turkey	2	(K, A–K)
Bear–Wildcat	1	(A–K)
Bear–Wolf	1	(A–P)
Bear–Bear	1	(A)
Bear–Panther	0	
Bear–Salt	0	
Bear–Alligator	0	
	30	

Deer–Bear	6	(A)
Deer–Beaver	5	(A, A–K)
Deer–Panther	4	(A)
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	4	(A)
Deer–Wind	2	(A, A–K)
Deer–Alligator	1	(A–K)
Deer–Wildcat	1	(A–K)
Deer–Turkey	0	
Deer–Salt	0	
	23	

Daddy-longlegs–Bear	9	(A)
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	4	(A)
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	3	(A)
Daddy-longlegs–Panther	1	(A–K)
Daddy-longlegs–Wolf	1	(A–P)
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey	1	(A–K)
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs	1	(A)
Daddy-longlegs–Wildcat	0	
Daddy-longlegs–Wind	0	
Daddy-longlegs–Salt	0	
Daddy-longlegs–Alligator	0	
	20	

Turkey–Beaver	6	(K)
Turkey–Wildcat	6	(K)
Turkey–Panther	2	(K, A–K)
Turkey–Bear	2	(K, A–K)
Turkey–Salt	1	(A–K)
Turkey–Daddy-longlegs	1	(A–K)
Turkey–Deer	0	
Turkey–Wind	0	
Turkey–Wolf	0	
Turkey–Alligator	0	
	18	

Wildcat–Turkey	6	(K)
Wildcat–Beaver	4	(K)
Wildcat–Salt	2	(A–K)
Wildcat–Deer	1	(A–K)
Wildcat–Bear	1	(A–K)
Wildcat–Wildcat	1	(K)
Wildcat–Daddy-longlegs	0	
Wildcat–Panther	0	
Wildcat–Wind	0	
Wildcat–Wolf	0	
Wildcat–Alligator	0	
	15	

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Panther-Deer	4 (A)
Panther-Wind	3 (A, A-K)
Panther-Turkey	2 (K, A-K)
Panther-Beaver	2 (K, A-K)
Panther-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A-K)
Panther-Wolf	1 (A-P)
Panther-Panther	1 (A)
Panther-Bear	0
Panther-Wildcat	0
Panther-Salt	0
Panther-Alligator	0
	14

Wind-Bear	4 (A, A-K)
Wind-Panther	3 (A, A-K)
Wind-Deer	2 (A, A-K)
Wind-Wolf	2 (K, A-P)
Wind-Salt	1 (A)
Wind-Beaver	0
Wind-Daddy-longlegs	0
Wind-Wildcat	0
Wind-Turkey	0
Wind-Alligator	0
	12

Salt-Beaver	4 (A, K)
Salt-Wildcat	2 (A-K)
Salt-Wind	1 (A)
Salt-Turkey	1 (A-K)
Salt-Bear	0
Salt-Deer	0
Salt-Daddy-longlegs	0
Salt-Panther	0
Salt-Wolf	0
Salt-Alligator	0
	8

Wolf-Wind	2 (K, A-P)
Wolf-Panther	1 (A-P)
Wolf-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A-P)
Wolf-Bear	1 (A-P)
Wolf-Beaver	0
Wolf-Deer	0
Wolf-Wildcat	0
Wolf-Turkey	0
Wolf-Salt	0
Wolf-Alligator	0
	5

Alligator-Deer	1 (A-K)

The data regarding the Wolf and Alligator clans is, of course, of no particular significance owing to the small numbers of representatives of each of these clans and the fact that three of the Wolf clan were Pascagoula Indians. Elsewhere there is an intimation that the Bear, Salt, and Wind may have belonged to the same phratry or clan moiety, and this is to some extent borne out by the above data, only one marriage between individuals of these clans—Salt and Wind—being given. However, the material would seem to indicate a feeling of repugnance to marriage between the Bear, Panther, and Wildcat. That the Panther and Wildcat were considered practically equivalent clans is certain, but it is not often that the Bear is found associated with these. In fact, were it not for the tables I should have had no suspicion of it, nothing of the kind having been suggested by any of my informants. The data bears out their contention that prohibition of intermarriage existed between the Deer and Wolf, the Panther and Wildcat, and the Bear and Salt, although it is too small in amount to be satisfactory. There is now no Skunk clan, and therefore we can not test native opinion that the Skunk and Wind were similarly allied. On the other hand the association which they declare to have existed between the Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, and Turkey is certainly no longer in evidence.

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I have now touched upon practically all of the more important associations that can be shown with any certainty to have been established between Creek clans. Many others are recorded in my

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lists as having taken place in from one to three towns, and undoubtedly some of these actually occurred, but, owing to the breakdown of the system and the chance for error in collecting information from so many informants of varying degrees of reliability, too much confidence must not be placed in them. Our analysis shows that the 50 or more clans, the names of which can in any way be recovered, fall for the most part into a small number of groups headed by a few clans more prominent than the rest. About nine such groups may be made out, headed, respectively, by the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon, Alligator, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther, although, as we have seen, associations are also found between several of these, as, for instance, the Bird and Beaver, Raccoon and Aktayatci, Aktayatci and Alligator, Beaver and Alligator, and Deer and Panther. Legus Perryman, one of my oldest informants, denominated these very clans, minus the Raccoon, "old original clans." It is interesting to compare this list with the clans mentioned by Adair, Bartram, and Stiggins, which, it is to be presumed, were those most prominent in the times in which they wrote, though in a few cases Adair mentions a clan in order to back up some argument. In various places he refers to the following: Eagle, Panther, Buffalo, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, Tortoise, Snake, Fish, Wind, Raven, and Sphane.[45] In one place he seems to distinguish between the Panther and "Tyger," [46] but elsewhere he speaks of the "Panther or Tyger." [47] Five of the clans in his list, the Wind, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, and Panther, are among the nine principal clans recognized to-day; three more, the Eagle, Snake, and Fish, have, or are remembered to have had, considerable prominence; three others, the Buffalo, Tortoise, and Sphane, are known to have existed; and only one, the Raven, has vanished from life and from memory as well.[48] Bartram mentions, incidentally, the Wildcat, Otter, Bear, and Rattlesnake.[49] By the last he probably means the Snake clan. With this understanding all are well-known clans, though it happens that only one, the Bear, is of major importance. Stiggins says: "The nation consists of nine clans or families, viz, the Wind, the Bear, the Panther, the Bird, the Polecat, the Fox, the Potato, the Red Paint, and the Isfauna which is composed of many small clans." [50] The first four of these belong to the leading nine of to-day, and the Fox and Potato are connected with two others, the Raccoon and Aktayatci. I have spoken of the Red Paint already, also of the "Isfauna." [51] The Polecat or Skunk is the only one this writer mentions which may be said to have been strictly a minor clan. It is not surprising that a clan with an uninterpretable name, such as the Aktayatci, should not have been selected by these writers in giving specimens of the clan names, and the Beaver we know to have had importance only in one or two localities. The omission of the Bird by Adair, however, and particularly the failure of any of these writers to notice the Alligator, is singular. Perhaps the Snake was representative of the Alligator group at that time. On the other hand, the Bird and Alligator may have arisen to prominence only at a very late period. Still, these early lists as a whole yield no proof of any violent change in the clan composition of Creek peoples.

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[45] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 15, 31, 131.

[46] Ibid., p. 15.

[47] Ibid., p. 31.

[48] Consult, however, p. 119, footnote 2.

[49] Bartram, Travels, p. 451.

[50] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. [illegible]

[51] See pp. 119, 120.

In all of the cross grouping to which attention has been given it is remarkable to what an extent the Wind clan stands by itself. Out of 38 possibilities for association between this clan and the Bear—both of which it should be remarked are White clans like the Bird and Beaver—there are but 3 cases in which they fall together. Only 2 out of 36 are found between the Wind and Panther, 2 out of 33 between the Wind and Bird, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Deer, 1 out of 35 between the Wind and Alligator, 2 out of 34 between the Wind and Aktayatci, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Beaver, and in 31 possibilities there is not a single association between this clan and the Raccoon. The remaining clans rank, with reference to their independence, in about the following order: Panther, Deer, Bear, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Alligator, Bird, and Beaver. If, however, we consider the number of different clans with which associations were formed instead of the total number of associations we would have to set down the Bird and Beaver as more independent than the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator.

The following table illustrates in concrete form the connection of the various Creek clans in so far as it can be determined. The nine principal phratries are numbered, and all of the clans which occur under each are usually found in this association. The relationships which we find between the phratries themselves are indicated by arrows.

1. Wind, Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, Turtle.
2. Bear, Wolf, Salt, Nokfaha, Asunwa, Fresh-land.
3. Bird, Medicine, Inlanisi.
↕
4. Beaver.
↕
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Daddy-longlegs.
↕
6. {Raccoon, Łidjâmi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, Mink. Potato, Tcowasta.
↕
7. Aktayatci, Snake, Kapitca, Woksi.
8. Deer, Pahosa, Mole, Toad, Tcokote.
↕
9. Panther, Wildcat, Arrow.

615 One of the difficulties with which this investigation is beset is that analogies between clan names, or the animals which gave their names to clans, have brought about certain mental associations and it is not always certain whether an alleged clan association may not have been assumed by the informant without having actually taken place. This fact also renders it very difficult to determine any genetic relationship between clans, even those most closely connected. For instance, an association was assumed by some of my informants between the Eagle and the Bird and also between the Turkey and the Bird, when, as a matter of fact, the Eagle is linked with the Raccoon and the Turkey with the Alligator. There is evidently a conscious tendency to find an association between the water animals. This explains why the Beaver is at times united with the Alligator, and the Alligator linked with the Aktayatci. For the same reason the Fish, Mink, and Otter are also sometimes said to be connected with the Beaver. Indeed the lack of intimate correspondence between clans named after water animals is rather marked when one considers the strength of the desire to unite them. As I shall have occasion to show more than once, Indians are most skillful in inventing reasons for institutions or customs already in existence. Native explanations of the association of the Bird and Beaver and the Bird and Alligator are examples.[51a] There are other linkings which might seem beyond Indian ingenuity to account for, yet I believe that reasons for such associations would be discovered by them.

As nearly as can be made out from the information given by Pareja the Timucua of Florida had the following phratries:

White Deer, in some provinces called Great Deer (no linkages given).

Dirt (or Earth) (no linkages given).

Fish (including two minor divisions); Tucunubala, Irihibano; Apichi (Rabbit?).

Buzzard; a clan called Nuculaha (consisting of three coordinate or subordinate parts); Chorofa; Usinaca; Aychanisino; Napoya; Amacahuri; White Fox; Amusaya.

Bird; Bear; Habachaca; and others.

Acheha; Panther; Partridge; Dog (Efaca); Hobatine; Quasi; Chehelu.

MOIETIES

616 In addition to the linking of clan to clan, varying considerably as we have seen, from one town to another, there existed a dual division of clans to which allusion has several times been made. This did not run across clans like the Chiefs and Warriors societies of the Yuchi[52] but separated clan from clan. One of these two

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[51a] See pp. 145, 149.

[52] See Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi, pp. 74-78.

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One of these two moieties was called Hathagâlgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogâlgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanâlgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafâskâlgi, which is, however, applied to the tâstânâgâlgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagâlgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askă‘mâlgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola‘tâgi or Hola‘tâlgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola‘ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagâlgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste.

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One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans.

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

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Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the

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same time from what town or towns each clan was reported. Numbers after the W and Tc tell how the clans were associated in phratries within the town, the 1's being in one phratry, the 2's in another, and so on.

TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Talladega	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	W	W		W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc.
Abihka-in-the-West	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(1)	Tc(4)	
Kan-tcati	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Otciapofa	W(1)	W(2)		Tc(3)		Tc(4)	W(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Tulsa Little River	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)		Tc(5)	W(5)	?(6)	Tc(7).
Lutcapoga	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(6)	?(7).
Okfuskee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	Tc(9).
Tcatoksofka	W	W	W	W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Nuyaka	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Talmutcasi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pakan tallahassee	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6?).
Wiogufki	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W?(2)	Tc(3)	W?(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Tukpafka	W			W		Tc	Tc	Tc	
Asilanabi	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)
Okchai (probably same connections).	W	W	W	W	W	Tc		Tc	Tc.
Łálogálga	?					?		?	
Wiwohka	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	(?5)	?(6)	?(7 perhaps 6).
Tuskegee	W(1)	W(2)	?(3)	W(4)	Tc?(4)		Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc?(6).
Koasati No. 2	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2).

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Snake
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W							
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati		Tc(8)						
Otciapofa		Tc(8)	W(9)	Tc(10)				
Tulsa Little River		?(8)	?(5)		Tc(5)	?(3)	Tc(9)(?)	
Lutcapoga		?(6)		?(4)	?(7)	?(7)		
Okfuskee		Tc(8)	Tc(6)	Tc(5)			Tc(5)	
Tcatoksofka						W	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(2)	Tc(7)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(7)	Tc(7)	Tc(4)	
Nuyaka								
Talmutcasi		?						
Pakan tallahassee	W(2)			W(2?)			W(2?)	
Wiogufki		Tc(5)		W?(2)	Tc(6)		W?(2)	Tc(2).
Tukpafka		Tc						
Asilanabi		Tc(4)		Tc(2)			Tc(2)	
Okchai (probably same connections).				W			W	
Łálogálga								
Wiwohka	?(2)	?(6)	?(4)	?(3)	?(8)		?(3)	?(3).
Tuskegee		Tc(6)		Tc(4)				
Koasati No. 2								

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Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Fox	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Otter	Too-wasta	Tapasola
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)								
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati								
Otciapofa								
Tulsa Little River					?(9)	Tc(10)		
Lutcapoga							?(1)	
Okfuskee								
Tcatoksofka								
Abihkutci	Tc(7)	Tc?(7)	W(1)	Tc?(5)	Tc(6)			
Nuyaka								
Taskutcasi								
Pakan tallahassee			W(1)		Tc(4)			
Wiogufki								
Tukpafka								
Aslanabi						W(2)?		
Okchai (probably same connections).								
Łalogalga								
Wiwohka			?(1)		?(5)		?(6)	
Tuskegee					Tc(5)			
Kosati No. 2								Tc(2).

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Tukabahches	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Atasi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3?)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Kealedji	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	W(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(4).
Łapłako	W(1)	Tc(2)	W(2?)	W(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Łiwahali	W	W	W		Tc?	Tc	Tc		Tc.
Hilibi		W(1)	W(2)	?	Tc(3)	Tc(4) [W(4) (J. L.)]		Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Eufaula (Upper)	W(1)	W(2?)	W(2?)	W(?)	W(6)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)[1]	Tc(5)	Tc(5).
Alabama	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(5)	Tc(3?). W[2]	Tc(4)	Tc(2)		Tc(4).
Alabama in Texas	?(1)	?(2)		?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Tukabahches		Tc(8)		Tc(4)		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(8).
Atasi		Tc(7?)		Tc(4?)			Tc(4)	
Kealedji	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(4)			Tc(4)	Tc(7).
Łapłako		Tc(?)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)		Tc(3)	?
Łiwahali								
Hilibi	W(1)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)			Tc(3)	
Eufaula (Upper)	W	Tc(5)		W(6)			W(6)	
Alabama							Tc(3?)	
Alabama in Texas	?(4)						?(3)	

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[1] Formerly it is said to have been White.

[2] According to Billy Yahola.

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Tabulation of Creek Towns; Clans, and Moieties—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjami	Fish
Tukabahchee	Tc(4)	W(1)		Tc(5)				
Atasi								
Kealedji	Tc(4)	W(1)	Tc(7)				Tc(7)	
Łapłako				Tc(5)				
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)		W(1)						
Alabama				Tc(2)				
Alabama in Texas		?(1)		?(5)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapesola
Tukabahchee								
Atasi								
Kealedji		Tc(7)						
Łapłako								
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)								
Alabama				W(2)				
Alabama in Texas				?(2)				?(3).

LOWER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Kasihta	W(1)	W(2)	W?	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(3)	Tc(2).
Hitchiti	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	W(3)	?(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)
Okmulgee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(6)	Tc(5?).
Yuchi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(1)	Tc(1)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Kasihta	W(2)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)				Tc(3).
Hitchiti		Tc(6)	Tc(4)					
Okmulgee	W(2)	Tc(6)		Tc(4)				Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(2)	Tc(6?)		Tc(3)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)	
Yuchi	W(2)							

Town	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjami	Fish
Kasihta			Tc?(6)	Tc(5)?				W?(1).
Hitchiti			Tc(4)		Tc(3)			
Okmulgee				Tc(5)				
Apalachicola			Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)			
Yuchi		W(1)		Tc(1?)				W(4).

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapesola
Kasihta								
Hitchiti								
Okmulgee								
Apalachicola	Tc?(4)							
Yuchi								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

LOWER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Coweta	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(4).
Łikatcka	?	W			?	Tc	?		?.
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)	Tc(2)	?(3)	?(3)	W(4)	?(5)	?(5)	?(6)	?(4).
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	W(2?)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Osochi	?	?(1)	?	?	?	?	?(2)	?	?.

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Coweta		Tc(4)		Tc(4)				Tc(4).
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(2)	?(6)	?(5)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	
Chiaha	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(5).				Tc(7).
Osochi	?(1)	?			?			?.

Town	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Coweta				Tc(5)				
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(4)	?(1)	?(1)	?(5)	?(4)	?(1)		
Chiaha		W(1)			Tc?(3?)			W?(7).
Osochi				?(2)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Coweta								
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)		?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	
Chiaha								
Osochi								

SEMIÑOLE TOWNS 1/

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Ochesee	W?(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	(W)(3?)	Tc(4).
Oktcaisee	?(1)	?(3)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(2)	?(5)	?(2)	?(4).
Tallahasutci	Tc(1)	W(3)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6)		Tc(5).
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(3)	?(3)	?(5)		?(3).
Eufaula	?(1)	?(3)	?(3)		?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(7)	?(4).
Łiwahali	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(3)
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc (6)		Tc(7)	Tc(5).
Mikasuki		?		?	?		?		

1/ [For key to symbols, see pp. 157-158, category 116. -- Analyst

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

SEMINOLE TOWNS—Continued

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tämi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox	Woksi
Ochesee	W(2)	W(3)			Tc(4)				
Okfuskee		?(2)	?(2)		?(4)				
Tallahasutci		?(4)		W?(5)	?(8)		?(5)		
Hitchiti	?(2)	?(4)	?(5)	?(3)					
Eufaula		?(3)	?(5)	?(4)	?(4)		?(4)		
Liwahali		Tc(6)	Tc(4)	W(2)	Tc(3)		W(2)		
Chiaha		Tc(9)						Tc(7)	
Mikasuki		?							

Town	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Toad	Fish	Tcokote	Salt	Cane
Ochesee				Tc(4)	W?(1)					
Okfuskee				?(4)						
Tallahasutci				Tc(8)						
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(6)		?(3)	?(1)	?(6)		?(6)		?(5).
Eufaula				?(4)						
Liwahali				Tc(2)	W(2)					
Chiaha	W(1)								W(3)	
Mikasuki					?					

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On examining this list we find but one town in which the Wind are set down as Tcilokogálgi. This is the Seminole town of Tallahasutci and I believe the statement to be an error. The Seminole towns were built up from several different Creek towns and do not represent an old organization. Among other changes this institution of Whites and Tcilokis fell rapidly into decay, and for three of the towns I have been unable to get any information. Moreover, all of the old men of Tallahasutci are dead and, although I am sure that my informant tried to give correct information, he probably erred. The Bear occurs twice as Tciloki, in Eufaula Hobayi and Łapłáko. In the first case not much reliance is to be placed on the information, since the town has long given up its square and my informant merely said in a general way that the Bear were the Tciloki and the Alligator the Whites. The information regarding Łapłáko was, however, from one of my oldest informants and was furnished in a positive manner without hesitation. It is true that in the sister town of Łiwahali the Bear is given as White, but my Łiwahali informant was a comparatively young man, and the Łiwahali square was given up much before that of Łapłáko. In accordance with the history of the Creek towns, as worked out in another place,[22a] Łapłáko and Łiwahali would seem to have represented a division more ancient than the Tukabahchee, Eufaula, or many other groups of towns upon the Red side, and it is quite likely that the assignment of the Bear to the Tciloki was peculiar to them. In the same towns

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[22a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-258.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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the Bird and Beaver are White. This is their usual classification, but my lists show that they were Tciloki in Alabama, Koasati, Apalachicola and two of the Abihka towns. That they were actually Tciloki in Alabama is attested by several informants within and without that town, and one of my interpreters, himself a Tukabahchee, recalled, as a subject of general amusement, that when a ball game was to be played the Bird clan in Alabama sided against the Whites. If the Bird and Beaver were Whites in Alabama they were probably Whites in Koasati also, the two towns having been close together and being related in language. It is also probable that this difference obtained among the Hitchiti. It is true that in Okmulgee the Bird appear as White and the Beaver as Tciloki and in Hitchiti proper the Beaver as White and the Bird as Tciloki, but my authorities for this were much younger than the one for Apalachicola and their squares were among the first to be given up. In two of the four Abihka towns the Bird and Beaver would seem to have been White and in two Tciloki. The information with respect to Talladega, in which the two are Whites, should have been the most correct, since that square is still maintained; since the Bird and Beaver seem to be Tciloki among the tribes incorporated into the Creeks, perhaps the disturbance in some Abihka towns may have been due to the Natchez who settled with them. The Beaver are also given as Tciloki in Otciapofa and Kasihta. In the latter place this seems to have been a late arrangement, due to the fact that there were no Birds, and the three Beaver were seated with the Potato clan and hence classed on the same side with them. Something like this may be the secret of the change at Otciapofa. Another reason is suggested by the case of Asilanabi, where the Beaver was also Tciloki although the Bird was White. My information was from the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łålogålga and is probably correct. It appears that the anomaly was due in part at least to the association of the Beaver with water animals like the Alligator.

But sometimes the association of the Alligator and Beaver seems to have worked in the opposite direction, the Alligator being placed among the Whites. From my notes this would appear to have been the case at Talladega, the old Abihka town near Eufaula, Oklahoma, at Pakan tallahassee, Wiogufki, Okchai, Atasi, Eufaula Hobayi, and Yuchi. While some of these cases do not rest on altogether satisfactory information there can be no doubt that such a classification occurred at times. We have no means of knowing whether it was characteristic of the Creeks in olden days or is a later innovation. The Deer clan is said, on the best authority obtainable, to have been reckoned a White clan in Chiaha, and this, according to an Indian of the neighboring Coweta town, was because it was there associated with the Bird. It might also be mentioned that in Tukabahchee the

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Deer were employed as henihas during the women's dance, and the henihas, as we shall see, were connected with peace. In Otciapofa the Pahosa are said to have been not merely Whites but the leading clan among the Whites, and as the Pahosa and Deer were uniformly linked together the condition noted in Chiaha may have been duplicated in Otciapofa. The Panther clan is given as White in Otciapofa, Little River Tulsa, Wiogufki, and Kealedji, the evidence in the last case being particularly good. Although the Panther is to-day almost always regarded as Tciloki some of my oldest and best informants, including Jackson Lewis and Big Jack of Hilibi, asserted positively that it was properly a White clan. According to the latter it was a White clan which had been turned over to the Tciloki to make their numbers even with the numbers of the Whites. Referring back to the origin myths it is seen that corroborative evidence may be adduced from that source.[43] If the Panther was anciently White it is to be presumed that the Wildcat was White also, but of this I have no certain knowledge. The Potato and Raccoon were said by one of my very best informants to have been reckoned as White clans in the Seminole town of Ochesee. While I am not prepared to deny the fact it would be so unique that I believe it must have been due to some later readjustment and does not represent an original condition. An informant reported that the Eagle was a White clan in Tcatoksofka but this was probably due to a mistaken association of the Eagle and Bird clans such as I have mentioned elsewhere.

Summing up, then, we find that the Wind and Bear are almost always White, the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Potato almost always Tciloki, the Bird and Beaver Tciloki occasionally but usually White, the Alligator, Deer, and Panther White occasionally but usually Tciloki. The clans linked with each of these so constantly as to be reckoned subdivisions were considered of the same moiety.

At first sight it would seem as though the connection of the names of the White clans with peace were very remote, but "where there's a will there's a way," especially when it comes to ex post facto explanations, and here is how my good informant, Jackson Lewis, solved the enigma in connection with four of these.

"The Wind is considered a peace clan because the wind can drive away clouds, fogs, and so on, and bring on clear, pleasant weather for mankind. The name of the Bird clan is understood to apply to birds with white plumage, such as the crane, pelican, spring crane, etc. Crane feathers were borne by dancers belonging to White clans at Tukabahchee, while those of the other side carried eagle feathers. The Bear is a peace clan because the bear is regarded as exceedingly watchful and therefore useful in the interests of peace. The Wolf, as a branch of the Bear, is a peace clan because the Wolf is a close

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[43] See pp. 111-113.

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observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear."

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An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.[33a]

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These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Łaplåko the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group.

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The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties.

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Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had

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[33a] See pp. 111-113.

66 621 526 [177] the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

64 582 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[55] 567 727 597

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[56] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

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[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.

[55] Ibid., p. 211.

[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 62, 212, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 373.

602 614 Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based opon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

614 825 688 A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[86a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[87]

[522] Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[88] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been
614 under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed
825 me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

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[86a] See p. 112.

[87] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

its skin for one of his sons. Afterwards he met a man of the Deer clan who took him to task for this but was finally mollified by the assurance that it was so used, not out of disrespect, but because it was held in honor. A man was also supposed to see that proper respect was paid to the totem animal of his father's clan. An instance was related to me in which a man was called to account for having killed a wolf, by another man whose father belonged to the Wolf clan. It is from this clan association that the Creeks applied terms of relationship to animals. According to one informant the Bird people called the buzzards, and all other kinds of birds in fact, "my father," and he added that this form of address was usual with other clans. It is, however, more likely that the term given by way of illustration was applied by persons whose fathers were from the Bird clan. If they themselves had been Birds they would probably have said "my uncle."[58a] 614 825

There appears not to have been the slightest objection to killing totem animals from veneration for them as such, and this was just as true in Adair's time. He says:

"The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves. The *wolf* indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns . . . though, at the same time, they are so far from esteeming it a deity, they reckon it the most abominable quadruped of the whole creation."[59]

We should perhaps add to this a taboo against killing the rattlesnake, but there appears not to have been the least connection between their unwillingness to kill this reptile and its eponymous character, and indeed the name of Snake clan is not certainly known to have applied specifically to the rattlesnake.[60]

When a formal council was opened in the tcokofa Bartram says that the tobacco used was brought in in a skin usually taken from that animal from which the chief's clan derived its name.[61]

The Wind clan formed in some respects a privileged class. I have already mentioned the fact that women of this clan were called "grandmothers" by the other people, and we shall see later that, with the possible exception of the Bear, this was the only clan allowed to take up again the clubs with which adulterers were punished, after they 614

[58a] See also pp. 145-149.

[59] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 16.

[60] Consult, however, Bartram, Travels, p. 451; see p. 537 in following paper.

[61] Bartram, op. cit.

614 had once been laid aside. According to one writer the Wind clan could take them up an indefinite number of times; according to another, four times. This privilege is well remembered. A single writer adds that people of the Bear clan were allowed to take the clubs up twice, but I have been able to learn nothing definite upon the subject from the living Indians. Local privileges connected with the busk ceremonial were, of course, enjoyed by other clans.[62]

In other parts of America clan distinctions are indicated by means of face paintings or tattooings. With the Creeks, however, most of the latter seem to have had to do with war honors. I was told that members of the Raccoon clan painted circles about their eyes, but according to others this was done merely by doctors as a sign that they were able to see in the dark. Paintings used to indicate the towns of the persons using them will be considered presently.[62a]

Another source of information regarding the position of clans in the tribe is still to be tapped, but in order to do this we must first set forth a description of the Creek ceremonial or busk ground, the religious and social center of every Creek community of consequence.

DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO THE LAND AND THE TOWN

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Both the Creeks and the Texas-Alabama have told me that anciently clans lived apart, and in a Creek story of the origin of corn they are represented as scattered about in a number of different camps. Whether or not the major clans are descended from bodies of people which once lived in separate towns and lacked exogamy the local separation of the clans until very late times is an undeniable fact. I may note here the assertion of one of my oldest and best informants to the effect that in olden times the clans were not exogamous, but that upon one occasion a council was held and it was determined that afterwards they should be considered such. This is interesting as marking the native recognition of such a possibility, not as proving that the change actually took place.
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The Creek towns in the times when we begin to have knowledge of them consisted of a succession of villages or neighborhoods scattered through the woods and along the streams, and connected by a network of trails. The unit of such a town consisted of a group of houses owned by women of one clan and occupied by themselves, their husbands, and their young children. In practice it worked out something like this. A man, assisted by other members of his family or clan, might build a house in a new situation and clear the usual yard by hoeing up the surface weeds and grass for a considerable space about it. Now, when one of his daughters married her husband, drawn from some other, perhaps distant, locality, would build another house on part of the same

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[62] Cf. also Milfort, Mém., p. 235.

[62a] See p. 266.

cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would 592
set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was 614
repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[63] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the
other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and [574]
made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not.
Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any [888]
reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and 344
its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds 361
with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

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[63] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

342 "The dwellings of the Upper Creeks [i. e., the Creeks proper, exclusive of the Seminole] consist of little squares, or rather of four dwelling-houses inclosing a square area, exactly on the plan of the Public Square. Every family, however, has not four of these houses; some have but three, others not more than two, and some but one, according to the circumstances of the individual, or the number of his family. Those who have four buildings have a particular use for each building. One serves as a cook room and winter lodging-house, another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors, and a third for a granary or provision house, etc. The last is commonly two stories high, and divided into two apartments,

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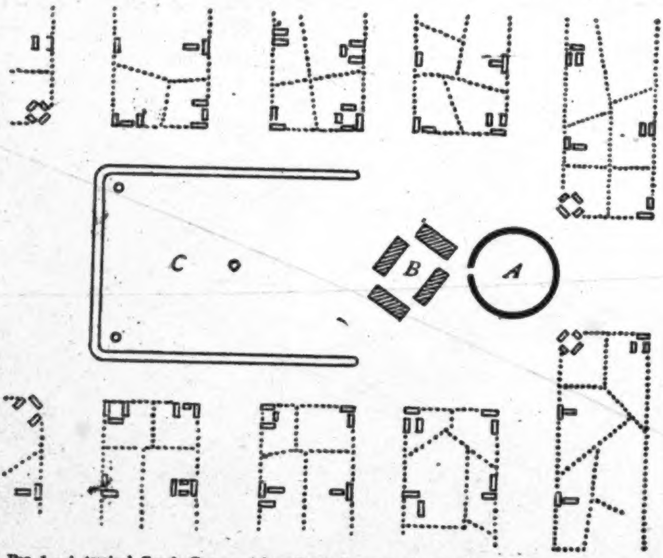

FIG. 1.—A typical Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground, showing its relation to the town. (After Bartram.)

transversely, the lower story of one end being a potato house, for keeping such other roots and fruits as require to be kept close, or defended from cold in winter. The chamber over it is the *council*. At the other end of this building, both upper and lower stories are open on their sides; the lower story serves for a shed for their saddles, pack-saddles, and gears, and other lumber; the loft over it is a very spacious, airy, pleasant pavilion, where the chief of the family reposes in the hot seasons, and receives his guests, etc. The fourth house (which completes the square) is a skin or ware-house, if the proprietor is a wealthy man, and engaged in trade or traffic, where he keeps his deer-skins, furs, merchandise, etc., and treats his customers. Smaller or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344 361 621

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."[64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."[65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177]

Among the Alabama the yard (tā'āle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the household. [351 784]

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[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-56.

[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 96.

342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually
the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the
yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks,
houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house
[592 owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the
husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of
606] the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook
at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

171 When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find
that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the
361 center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing build-
ings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

342 "The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of
344 all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a
particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to
622 give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the
chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong."[illegible]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

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[illegible] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 260-261.

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mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

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"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

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"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

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[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.

[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 120.

[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 89.

[70] Ibid., p. 101.

[71] Ibid., p. 23.

[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 50, 102.

[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 120.

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positions in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and the slave-posts."[74]

The use of the mound, while partly no doubt for defense and to add dignity to the structures placed upon it, was very often in order to protect the buildings from spring floods and the general dampness. Some earlier Spanish statements suggest that perhaps even in the sixteenth century not all public buildings were placed upon mounds. Yet by analogy with the Cherokee town house and the lower Mississippi temple we may consider it probable that the arrangement set forth by Bartram was actually a very ancient one. It would seem likely that the building called by Bartram the rotunda was once the most important element and that the public square was merely a summer substitute suggested by a southern climate. Such an evolution of the Creek public buildings would bring them into line with those known to have existed among the Cherokee and the tribes of the Mississippi. A later evolution changed the relative position of the elements here brought together and finally resulted in an almost complete elimination of the mounds. We will continue with Bartram's description of the later square (fig. 3) which remained essentially as he represents it almost to the present day.

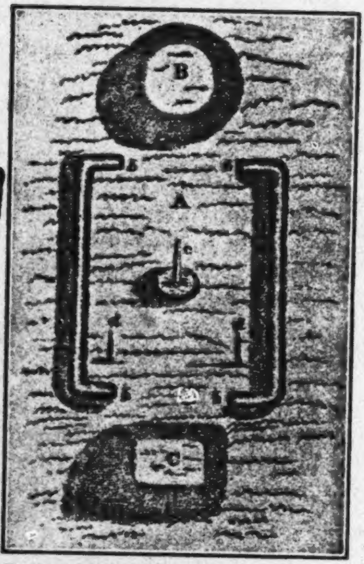

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FIG. 2.—Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

"This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky-Yard Public Square, and Rotunda of the *modern* Creek towns.

"*A*, the Public Square or area.

"*B*, the Rotunda; *a*, the door opening towards the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; *c*, the great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house.

"*C*, part of the Chunky-Yard."[75]

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[74] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 51-53.

[75] Ibid., p. 54.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

But however the arrangement, it is to be noticed that the public grounds of the Creeks included three elements, the *A*, *B*, and *C* of Bartram. As already stated, I believe the building which he calls the rotunda to be the oldest element of all, although it is the one which has disappeared most completely. In construction it was similar to the winter house of the individual Creek Indian, differing little except in size and the uses to which it was put. Adair says: 344

"It is usually built on the top of a hill; and, in that separate and imperial state house, the old beloved men and head warriors meet on material business, or to divert themselves, and feast and dance with the rest of the people. They furnish the inside with genteel couches, either to sit or lie on, about seven feet wide, and a little more in length, with a descent towards the wall, to secure them from falling off when asleep. Every one takes his seat, according to his reputed merit; a worthless coxcomb dare not be guilty of the least intrusion—should he attempt it, he is ordered to his proper place, before the multitude, with the vilest disgrace, and bears their stinging laughter."[76] 344 623

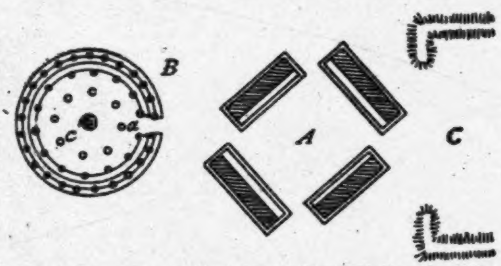

FIG. 2.—Later pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

Swan describes it as follows:

"The hot-house is a perfect pyramid of about twenty-five feet high, on a circular base of the same diameter. The walls of it are of clay, about six feet high, and from thence drawn regularly to a point at the top, and covered round with tufts of bark. Inside of the hot-house is one broad circular seat made of canes, and attached to the walls all around. The fire is kindled in the center; and the house, having no ventilator, soon becomes intolerably hot; yet the savages, amidst all the smoke and dust raised from the earthen floor by their violent manner of dancing, bear it for hours together without the least apparent inconvenience."[77] 344

Hawkins names this house the "chooc-ofau thluc-co"—Tcokō′fa łă′ko, "house with a big room," as obtained by myself—and he goes on to give the following description:

"This is near the square, and is constructed after the following manner: Eight posts are fixed in the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these, five or six logs are placed, of a side, drawn in as they rise. On these, long poles or rafters, to suit the height of the building, are laid, the upper ends forming a point, and the lower ends projecting out six feet from the octagon, and resting on posts five feet high, placed in a circle round the octagon, with plates on them, to which the rafters are tied with splits. The rafters are near together, and fastened with splits. These are covered with clay, and that with pine bark; the wall, six feet from the octagon, is clayed up; they have a small door into a small portico, curved round for five or six feet, then into the house.

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[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 421.

[77] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 265-266.

"The space between the octagon and the wall, is one entire sopha, where the visitors lie or sit at pleasure. It is covered with reed, mat or splits.

"In the centre of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made, of dry cane or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid in a spiral circle." [78]

The following account is from Bartram:

"The great council house or rotunda is appropriated to much the same purpose as the public square, but more private, and seems particularly dedicated to political affairs; women and youth are never admitted; and I suppose it is death for a female to presume to enter the door, or approach within its pale.[78a] It is a vast conical building or circular dome, capable of accommodating many hundred people; and constructed and furnished within, exactly in the same manner as those of the Cherokees already described, but much larger than any I had seen of them; there are people appointed to take care of it, to have it daily swept clean, and to provide canes for fuel, or to give light." [79]

Bartram's description of the Cherokee "rotunda," to which reference is made in the above account, is as follows:

"They first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at top, to receive into them from one to another, a range of beams or wall plates; within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at top, to receive another range of wall plates; and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but fewer in number, and standing at a greater distance from each other; and lastly, in the centre stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building, and to which the rafters centre at top; these rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed, and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all. There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light from without and the smoak to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoak. All around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with mats or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year."[80]

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[78] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 71-72.

[78a] This is erroneous; see Swan's statement on p. 182.

[79] Bartram, Travels, pp. 448-449.

This writer is the only one mentioning three concentric rows of posts in addition to the central pillar.

Contemporaneous with Bartram's description is that of Taitt:

"The hot house is generally built at the north west Corner of the Square having the door fronting the South East. The one in this Town [Tukabahchee] is a Square building about 30 feet diameter rounded a little at the Corners; the walls are about four feet high; from these walls the roof rises about twelve feet, terminating in a point at top. The door is the only Opening in this house for they have no window nor funnell for the smoke to go out, there is a small entry about ten feet long built at the out side of the door and turned a little round the side of the house to keep out the Cold and prevent the wind blowing the fire about the House; they make a Circle of pitch pine Split small; or in lieu of the pitch pine they use small dry Canes, leaving a small space of the Circle Open where the fire is lighted, still keeping some person Employed to add pitch pine of Canes to one part of the Circle while the fire Consumes the other. In this house the Indians consult about the affairs of their Nation in the Winter Season and in their Square in Summer."[81]

Hitchcock's notes contain a short description of the Tukabahchee tcokofa erected after the emigration of the Creeks to the banks of the Canadian. He calls this building "the Round house," and says:

"Considerable ingenuity has been employed in its erection.[81a] The main structure is supported upon *twelve* posts or pillars, one end sunk in the ground. They are disposed in a circle about 9 or 10 ft. apart, making a space within of about 120 ft. circumference, in the centre of which, upon the ground, is the sacred fire. The roof over this circle

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[80] Bartram, Travels, pp. 366-367.

[81] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 503.

[81a] It seems that the architect was Tukabahchee miko, a well-known Upper Creek leader and at that time its leading medicine maker. After giving the dimensions of the building as "about 60 feet in diameter and 30 feet high," he says that Tukabahchee miko "cut sticks in miniature of every log required in the construction of the building, and distributed them proportionately among the residents of the town, whose duty it was to cut logs corresponding with their sticks, and deliver them upon the ground appropriated for the building, at a given time. At the raising of the house, not a log was cut or changed from its original destination; all came together in their appropriate places, as intended by the designer. During the planning of this building, which occupied him six days, he did not partake of the least particle of food."—Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 88, p. 12.

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344 is a cone terminating in a point over the fire some 20 odd feet high. The rafters extend down from the apex of the cone beyond the twelve pillars, which are about 8 ft. high, to within 4 or 5 ft. of the ground, which space, of 4 or 5 ft., is closed entirely with earth. Between the pillars and the extreme exterior, a space of several feet, are seats of mats, like those of the sheds [in the Square]. The manner of constructing the roof is very remarkable for Indian work. Upon the alternate couples of the 12 pillars are first placed horizontal pieces, then upon the ends of these are placed other horizontal pieces between the other couples of pillars, then another series of horizontal pieces resting upon the second set, but drawn within towards the centre of the circle a few inches. Upon these again are other pieces still more drawn in. There are 4 tiers of horizontal pieces thus placed upon each other (fig. 4).

"A, b, c, d, are four of the twelve pillars. Pieces are first laid upon ab and upon cd, then a piece upon these and between bc, etc., etc. These horizontal pieces are strongly bound together by leather thongs of green hide. They are only carried up to the number of 4 sufficient for giving a direction and a foundation for the rafters, which are laid upon these, extending up to a point in one direction and in the other direction over [the] outside nearly to the ground. The rafters are strongly bound by thongs and covered with ordinary rived boards for shingles. There is but one small entrance to the House which is next towards the angle of the square adjacent to which the Round House stands."[a]

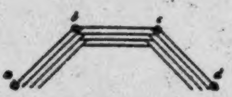

FIG. 4.—Structure of the roof of a Creek tcokofa. (After Hitchcock)

[624] He adds that certain persons were appointed to preserve the buildings and that they were obliged to take the black drink every morning.

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344 These descriptions, particularly that of Hawkins, agree with those I have myself obtained from old men who remember some of the hot houses that were built in Oklahoma. One had even heard that these buildings were anciently on mounds. In later times, however, the construction became much simpler. Some were made by resting poles on one end on an earthen wall and drawing the upper ends together at the center, the whole being covered with long boards. It is to be added that, although the seats ran all the way around this building on the inside, it was divided into separate "beds," maintaining the same general position as those in the "big house" out of doors. It was, as nearly as could be managed, an indoors version of the latter. During the Civil War most of these houses disappeared, and only one seems to have been built after that time, in this case by the people of Pakan tallahassee. One of the men who had participated

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[a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. The overlapping of the horizontal pieces in the sketch is crudely indicated, suggesting an outward rather than an inward flare.

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in the erection of this particular structure told me that the boards were made, and the materials brought to the spot, set up and fastened together—with grapevines instead of nails—all in 10 days. This hot house was used by the Laksafáski,[83] who are the tástanágalgi—in this town equivalent to the Deer clan. It was afterwards burned to the ground and has never been replaced, though the foundation, including the location of the large center post and the circular outline, was traceable when I visited the Pakan tallahassee busk ground in 1912. At Tukabahchee its place is still theoretically marked, and a fire made for it annually, in a circular area about 50 feet in diameter northwest of the square ground.[83a]

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The outdoors council ground or "big house," as it is known to the Creeks, has also suffered degeneration, though not to such a marked degree as the tcokofa. The best early descriptions are by Bartram, Swan, and Hawkins, and they are confirmed by allusions on the part of Adair and other writers. Hawkins says:

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"Choo-co-thluc-co, (big house), the town house or public square, consists of four square buildings of one story, facing each other, forty by sixteen feet, eight feet pitch; the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame, supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed, up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise, into two seats; the front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed-mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot, and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats they lie or sit at pleasure." [84]

Swan's description is yet longer:

"The public squares, placed near the centre of each town, are formed by four buildings of equal size, facing inwards, and enclosing an area of about thirty feet on each side. These houses are made of the same materials as their dwelling-houses, but differ by having the front which faces the square left entirely open, and the walls of the back sides have an open space of two feet or more next to the eaves, to admit a circulation of air. Each of these houses is partitioned into three apartments, making twelve in all, which are called the cabins; the partitions which separate these cabins are made of clay, and only as high as a man's shoulders, when sitting. Each cabin has three seats, or rather platforms, being broad enough to sleep upon. The first is raised about two feet from the ground, the second is eight inches higher, and the third, or back seat, as much above the second. The whole of the seats are joined together by a covering of cane-mats, as large as carpets. It is a rule, to have a new covering to the seats every year, previous to the ceremony of the busk; therefore, as the

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[83] Said by some to be a nickname for the Tcilokogálgi; see p. 157.

[83a] Some further notes on the tcokofa will be found on p. [illegible]

[84] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 68-69.

344 352 old coverings are never removed. they have, in most of their squares, eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

344 [354] "The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[illegible] is always allotted to the beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [illegible] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cooking black-drink, war-physic, &c. [532 614] On the post, or on a plank over each of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

[621 531] "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[764] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

[illegible] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[illegible] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

"Each square has a black-drink cook, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum." [illegible] 344 [272]

Hawkins probably had the square of Kasihta more particularly in mind and Swan that of Otciapofa. From Bartram we have two different descriptions, one more generalized, the other a particular account of the square of Atasi. The first and briefer of these runs as follows:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. [623] The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's [778] tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all the apparatus of the priests. None but the priests having the care of these articles are admitted; and it is said to be certain death for any other person to enter.

"Fronting this is another building, called the "Banqueting House;" and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike, and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment." [illegible]

His description of the Atasi square is much longer:

"The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre and highest part of the town: it consists of four-square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants: there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width: each building is constructed of a wooden frame fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay mortar; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air; the front or side next to the area is 344 quite open like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the coun- 623

[illegible] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, pp. [illegible].

344 [622] cilhouse where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide and rectify all grievances, complaints and contentions, arising betwixt the citizens; give audience to ambassadors, and strangers; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies or distant nations; consult about the particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens, or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three: it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded [778] place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary* dedicated to religion, or rather priest craft; for here are deposited all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs and other apparatus of conjurations; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail (Vultur sacra) curiously formed and displayed like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermillion. The piazza or front of this building, is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats or cabins stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sophas, and serve for a banqueting-house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females however are seldom or never seen in the public square.

344 532 "The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as an historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque or caricature, as men in variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kind of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front

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* "Sanctorum or sacred temple; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war-chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night."—Bartram.

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or piazza of the council-house of the square, are ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled serpents, ascending upwards; the Ottasses being of the snake family or tribe."[illegible]

Taitt's description, referring particularly to Tukabahchee, is brief but to the point:

"The Square is formed by four houses about forty feet in Length and ten wide. Open in front and divided into three different Cabins each. The seats are made of Canes Split and worked together raised about three feet off the Ground; and half the width of the House, the back half being raised above the other about one foot; these Cabins serve for beds as well as seats in Summer."[illegible]

January 31, 1842, General Hitchcock visited the Tukabahchee Square, in what is now Oklahoma, and gives the following description:

"The *Square* consists of four shed roofs forming a rectangle 20 paces on a side within. Each roof is closed on three sides to the ground, the fourth or inner side being open for counsellors to sit in, where mats are spread made of cane for seats. The four sheds are separated on their angles 4 or 5 paces for entrance and egress and they are situated so that diagonals of the Square are nearly upon the meridian line and at right angles to it. The 3 sides of the sheds which are closed are closed with mud and are raised about 6 feet, the open front inside being a corresponding 6 feet. Each shed is divided into three parts by a partition raised only about elbow high to one in a sitting posture. Upon each partition there are two earth bowls about a foot in diameter in which live coals are placed during the council for the grave counsellors to light their pipes by.

"One of the sheds is appropriated, or two parts of the three into which it is divided, to the preservation of articles used in the preparation and drinking of the 'black drink.' The most curious part of the preparation at the Square is at the west angle a few feet from the angle outside."[illegible]

Another description, probably applying to the Coweta Square, is furnished by Milfort and will be found in the chapter on Creek government.[illegible] Still another is contained in the Creek origin myth related to Gatschet by Ispahihtca of Kasihta and refers to that town. The dimensions given are greater than those included in the descriptions of Hawkins, Taitt, and Hitchcock. Adair gives the size of the central section of the west bed as 9 by 7, which would indicate that the entire bed was not more than 30 feet long.

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Attention should be called to the inclosed space behind the chief's bed mentioned by Hawkins and Bartram, and also by Adair who styles it "the holy of holies" and says regarding it: "As the Jews had

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[illegible] Bartram, Travels, pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. [illegible].

[illegible] Hitchcock, Ms. Notes.

[illegible] See pp. [illegible].

344 778 a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, so have all the Indian nations; particularly, the Muskohge. It is partitioned off by a mud-wall about breast-high, behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red-painted war-seat; there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular damage to themselves, and general hurt to the people, from the supposed divinity of the place."[66] Later most of the objects which had been preserved here were put up under the roof as was the case in the square described by Hawkins. In old Okchai they were up under the roof at the north end of the west cabin, where the Wind clan sat. In recent years, perhaps to protect them from desecration by the [177 whites, they have in some towns built a small house about 4 feet 346] each way in which the pots used at that time are stored. There is one at Eufaula just back of the chief's bed, one at Alabama southeast of the square, and one at Chiaha Seminole in the same relative position. Tukabahchee, where the busk vessels and appurtenances are kept in a small inclosed space just back of the center of the chief's bed, is the only town to preserve a relic of the more ancient custom.

344 In olden times there was in front of each front post in every bed a stick tapering to a point at the top, leaning outward, and provided on the outer side with two notches. The butt ends of the wands on which the feathers were tied used in the tcitahaia dance were stuck into the ground at these same points. The sticks were called atásȧ, like the smaller ones carried by the leaders of the women in the women's dance and the small ones given to youths when they were named, and in all cases they evidently refer to the old-fashioned war club (atásȧ or atásu). This description applies particularly to Tukabahchee. Other towns are said to have had sticks in the shape of axes instead of war clubs. Besides these sticks I am told that on the front of each post on the right-hand side of the center of each bed as you face the bed notches were cut called (i)nȧ'tásȧ ha'ki, "made like the atásȧ," and only men of great importance who could call councils sat next to these posts.

Jackson Lewis agreed with Hawkins in stating that in the old days when cane seats were employed there were generally only two tiers, but it is evident that the practice was different in different towns. Aside from the plan given by Swan the only attempt to represent any part of the square graphically was by a French artist who sketched what is probably the west bed of the Alabama ground in the early part of the eighteenth century. (Fig. 5.) This differs from all other illustrations and descriptions in showing four sections instead of three.

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[66] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 80.

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From these descriptions it appears that the buildings of the square were anciently constructed somewhat after the fashion of a native house with a long porch. In Oklahoma they degenerated rapidly, especially after the Civil War. While I have seen one square in which the cabins were provided with a shingle roof, they are almost universally simple brush arbors. In those which retain the original idea most fully there are eight posts marking out the three ancient subdivisions, but in many grounds these have become reduced to six and in still others to four. Often, however, the tripartite division is theoretically maintained. The posts are forked at the top and bear a brush roof that is renewed every year at the time of the busk. The seats are usually of logs split in halves, laid with the flat surface uppermost. Two or three rows from front to back are made of these, but as a matter of fact many Indians, especially the principal men, now use wooden chairs brought from their camps. The well-nigh universal statement, on the part of earlier white writers and the modern Indians, is to the effect that the cabins, arbors, or "beds," as the Creeks themselves call them, should be laid out toward the four cardinal points, and this holds for almost all of the modern squares. Jackson Lewis said that they used the north star as a guide in placing them. On the other hand the great square of Tukabahchee is somewhat askew, and one of my interpreters, who had formerly been the miko of that town, asserted that it was intended that the entrances should lie toward the cardinal points. This is confirmed by Hitchcock.[24a] Whether this was an established custom of some or all of the Creek towns it would now be impossible to say, but I am of the opinion that it was never universal. A change has also come about in the number of arbors. Anciently there appear to have been four without exception. At least there is no early mention of a smaller number among the Creeks proper.[25]

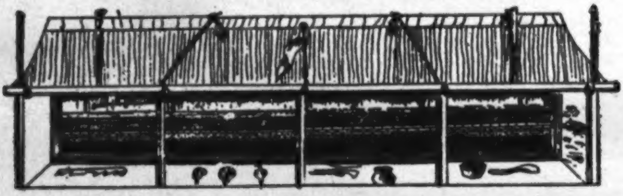

FIG. 5.—One of the beds in the Alabama Square Ground as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century. From a contemporary sketch. Medicine pots and spoons to right, on ground; gourd rattles to left; flag over the center pole; notched pole or atâsâ at either end and another pair some distance in from either end; a pole carrying a scalp at the top of each intermediate post; two full-length cane seats below. Near the left end, under the front of roof, are written the words "Caban de Conseille." (From an article entitled "Documents concernant l'Histoire des Indiens," by the Baron Marc de Villiers, in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s. vol. xiv, 1922, p. 126.)

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[24a] See p. 185.

[25] For the Seminole, however, see Bertram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 56.

177 344 With a falling off in population, however, and the conversion of many Indians to Christianity, it was found unnecessary to put up so many, and also too laborious for the workers available. Where four were preserved one or more came to be assigned to the women and children, although anciently they did not have seats on the square ground. We therefore find in many towns only three arbors, and in a few, like Alabama, only two. The ones dropped off were those which had been occupied by the boys, the visitors, and the less important officials. Łiwahali Seminole presents an extreme stage in the decline of the busk, each arbor being represented by only a single split log entirely uncovered (pl. 5, *c*). The last relic of the public ground to survive, however, was the chunkey yard, which we have yet to consider.

344 Not so much attention is paid to this chunkey yard by our early authorities, Hawkins practically disregarding it, while Swan merely refers to "a May-pole, with a large circular beaten yard around it, at the southwest corner, which is called the chunkey yard."[96] Bartram gives the fullest description of the ground to be found among older writers. Following is his account in full:

"The *Chunky-Yard* of the Creeks, so called by the traders, is a cubiform area, generally in the centre of the town, because the Public Square and the Rotunda, or great winter Council-house, stand at the two opposite corners of it. It is generally very extensive, especially in the large old towns,[97] is exactly level, and sunk two, sometimes three, feet below the banks or terraces surrounding it, which are sometimes two, one above and behind the other, and are formed of earth cast out of the area at the time of its formation; these banks or terraces serve the purposes of seats for the spectators. In the centre of the yard there is a low circular mount or eminence, in the centre of which stands erect the *chunky-pole*, which is a high obelisk, or four square pillars declining upwards to an obtuse point, in shape and proportion much resembling the Egyptian obelisk. This is of wood, the heart or inward resinous part of the sound pine-tree, and is very durable; it is generally from thirty to forty feet high, and to the top of this is fastened some object to shoot at with bows and arrows, the rifle, etc., at certain times appointed. Near each corner of the lower and further end of the yard stands erect a less pillar or pole, about twelve feet high: these are called the *slave-posts*, because to them are bound the captives condemned to be burnt, and these posts are usually decorated with the scalps of their slain enemies; the scalps with the hair on them, and strained on a little hoop, usually five or six inches in

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[96] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 265.

[97] "The chunky yards are of different sizes, according to the largeness and fame of the town they belong to; some are 200 or 300 yards in length, and of proportionable breadth."—Bartram.

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width, are suspended by a string six or seven inches in length round about the top of the pole, where they remain as long as they last. I have seen some that have been there so long as to lose all the hair, and the skin remaining white as parchment or paper. The pole is usually crowned with the white dry skull of an enemy. In some of these towns I have counted six or eight scalps fluttering on one pole in these yards. Thus it appears evidently enough that this area is designed for a public place of exhibition of shows and games, and formerly some of the scenes were of the most tragical and barbarous nature, as torturing the miserable captives with fire in various ways, and causing or forcing them to run the gauntlet naked, chunked and beat almost to death with burning chunks and fire-brands, and at last burnt to ashes.

"Inquired of the traders for what reason this area was called the *Chunky-Yard;* they were in general ignorant, yet they all seemed to agree in a lame story of its originating from its being the place where the Indians formerly put to death and tortured their captives—or from the Indian name for it, which bears such a signification.

"The Indians do not now torture their captives after that cruel manner as formerly; but there are some old traders who have been present at the burning of captives.

"I observed no Chunky-Yards, chunky-pole, or slave-posts in use in any of the Cherokee towns: and when I have mentioned in my journal, chunky-yards in the Cherokee country, it must be understood that I have seen the remains or vestiges of them in the ancient ruins of towns; for in the present Cherokee towns that I visited, though there were the ancient mounts and signs of the yard adjoining, yet the yard was either built upon or turned into a garden spot or the like. [171]

"Indeed, I am convinced that the Chunky-Yards now, or lately, in use amongst the Creeks, are of very ancient date—not the formation of the present Indians. But in most towns they are cleaned out and kept in repair, being swept clean every day, and the poles kept up and decorated in the manner I have mentioned."[86]

A footnote by Squier gives the true origin of the term chunkey, viz, from the name of a game to be explained elsewhere and common throughout the Southern States in primitive times.[86a] Bartram seems to have seen a chunkey-pole compounded of four pieces, an unusually elaborate construction. Nothing of the kind is known at the present day.

After describing the Atasi square in his Travels, Bartram goes on to tell us that "in the midst of a large oblong square adjoining this town (which was surrounded with a low bank or terrace) is standing a high pillar, round like a pin or needle; it is about forty feet in height, and between two and three feet in diameter at the earth, gradually tapering upwards to a point; it is one piece of pine wood, and arises from the centre of a low, circular, artificial hill, but it leans a little to one side."[30] He adds that the Indian traders knew nothing about this and the Indians themselves claimed to have found it in that same situation when their ancestors arrived in the country.[30] There can be no doubt, however, that this was nothing more than a chunk yard with its ball post, although it is possible that it belonged to an older town and was not in use in Bartram's time. It is at least interesting to note that according to our author's statement there was no pine of the kind used for this post then growing within 12 or 15 miles of the place.

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[86] Bartram, in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-56.

[86a] See p. 468.

The pole (Muskogee pokàbi) is a simple straight stick, tapering to the top and about 30 feet high, at the summit of which is hung the skull of a cow or horse. In the Fish Pond towns a wooden fish is used, the idea being derived from the town name, and in Eufaula there is a wooden bird. The last is said not to have any particular significance unless it be that it is the American national emblem. The slave posts are barely remembered by the oldest people, but it is believed that they were made in the shape of atàsà or "war clubs." The chunkey game is played no longer. Except during the busk this ground is employed by the Indians mainly in playing a game between the men and women which will be described later. During the busk, however, its bounds are within the sacred area, and some of the dances take place there. The Okchai town has two pokàbis, one to the east and one to the west. At Hilibi there are two, one, the pokàbi proper, within the prescribed bounds and the other beyond, to the south. The latter is used for purely social purposes, the situation of the former not being so well suited to the game. The fact that the latter is maintained distinct shows that there was a sacred character appertaining to the chunkey-yard and also that it was considered proper that it occupy a certain position. The ridges of earth to which Bartram refers as furnishing seats for spectators were made by successive cleanings, or rather scrapings, of the surface of the yard. At the present day these ridges (tàdjo) are difficult to distinguish in some grounds, but in a few, such as those of Tukabahchee and Okchai, they have almost the appearance of earthworks. In some an inner and an outer tàdjo may be distinguished, the former just outside of the four beds that form the square. This feature is, however, said to be purely accidental, due to cleaning out under the beds. Piles of trash are also left about the roots of trees and other obstructions.

Around the edges of each busk ground were a number of camps occupied by the families participating in the ceremony during the period of its continuance. The permanent parts of two of these are shown in Plates 4, *a*, and 6, *c*.

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[30] Bartram. Travels, p. 455.

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BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 1

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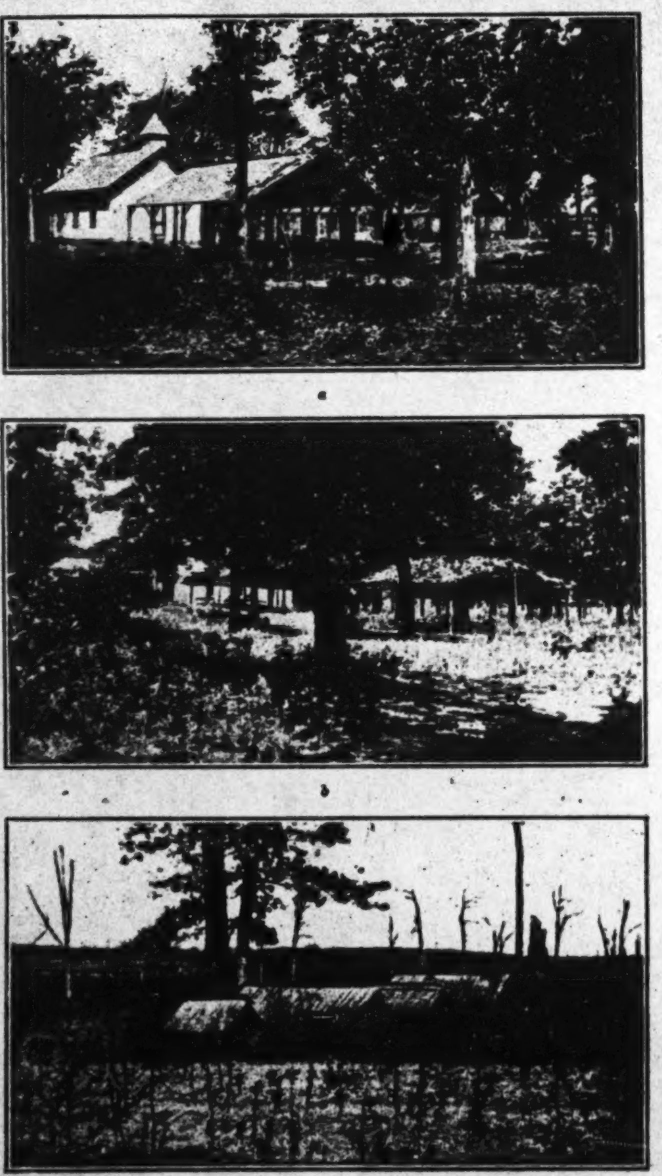

a

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CREEK CHURCHES AND BURIALS

[facing p. 190]

344 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have
346 been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

177 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks
171 have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those
344 above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours."[1]

344 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa),
554 usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The
names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied
621 to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tástanágálgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibánágálgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihálgi intupa) and was known

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[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 202.

344 554 621 to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihálgi always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[a] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). 614 622 For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the mikálgi or chiefs, and the henihálgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tástanágálgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Tulladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[2]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-tcati	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Lutcapoga	do	Bird [3] (Beaver, second chief).
Okfuskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tcatoksofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutci	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutcasi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee	(1) Aktayatci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis).	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktayatci	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Łalogalga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [2]	Bear or Wind.[2]
Kosati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[6]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 297.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tc'loki clan, perhaps the Aktayatci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasihta yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

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[a] See pp. 293-295

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Town	Chiefs	Henihas
Łaplako	(1) Bear	(1) Bird (second chief).
	(2) Raccoon	(2) Bear or Wind.
Łiwahali	(1) Panther	(1) Deer.
	(2) Panther	(2) Aktayatci or Fox.
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator, Turkey, and Tâmi.
Upper Eufaula	Aktayatci (anciently Eagle)	Do.[8]
Alabama	Bear [9]	(1) Aktayatci.
		(2) Alligator, Bird, etc.
Kasihta	Bear [10] (Alligator—Gatschet)	Wind (Isfani—Hawkins); (Alligator, second chief).
Hitchiti	Bird (Tâmi—Jackson Lewis)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (Deer, in last organization)	Bear (Bird, in last organization).
Yuchi	(Passes from father to son irrespective of clan.)	
Coweta	Fish [11] (Wind)	Bird.[12]
Łikatcka	Alligator	Wind (Bear, second chief).
Eufaula Hobayi	(1) Kapitca	(1) Deer (?).
	(2) Bear (second inf.)	(2) Wind (second inf.)
Chiaha	(1) Raccoon, Potato, or Fox	(1) Bear or Deer.
	(2) Bear	(2) Bear.
	(3) Wind	(3) Aktayatci, Potato, Alligator, Tâmi, Raccoon, Fox.
Osochi	(1) Fox (Jim Sapulpa)	(1) Wind (Jim Sapulpa).
	(2) Potato (Tob Tiger)	(2) Panther (Tob Tiger).
Ocheses	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee Seminole	do	Bird (second chief).
Tałahasutci	do	Bird.
Hitchiti Seminole	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula Seminole	Kapitca	Panther.[13]
Łiwahali Seminole	(1) Bird	(1) Bear.
	(2) Potato	(2) Bird.
Chiaha Seminole	Bear	Wind.[13]
Mikasuki	(1) Alligator	(1) Alligator (Panther, second chief; Potato, third chief).[14]
	(2) Snake (anciently); Panther (later)	(2) Panther (anciently); Alligator (later).

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[8] According to Jackson Lewis. Later the Bird clan seems to have occupied this position, though according to some Hilibi people the Wind once performed the function.

[9] One of the last chiefs belonged to the Wind clan.

[10] According to three different informants.

[11] Hawkins and Ispahihtca (fide Gatschet) both give the Fish, which we may therefore assume to have been the chief's clan in ancient times.

[12] According to both my own informants and those of Doctor Gatschet (Creek Ms. vocab.).

[13] These clans are called táctánágálgi but take the place of the henihálgi.

[14] See Fig. 99.

Regarding the Texas Alabama I learned the following facts. Within the memory of living Indians the chieftainship has not passed down in a single clan. The first head chief held in remembrance was leader of the tribe before they came to Texas. His name has not been preserved but he was the grandfather of John Scott, the late chief, and he belonged to the Daddy-longlegs clan. The second head chief is remembered as "old man Antone." He belonged to the Bear clan, and the second chief under him was a Tawasa Indian of the Beaver clan named Celestine. Antone was succeeded by the late chief, John Scott, who was of the Deer clan. The second chief under him was formerly John Walker, a Bear.

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By eliminating the Texas Alabama and the doubtful and less well-authenticated material in the above data and reducing all of the towns of each group under one head we obtain the following summary result. Alternative possibilities are in parentheses.

Town	Chief	Henilia
Abihka	Bear	Raccoon.
Tulsa	Beaver	Bird (or Wind).
Okfuskee	Bear	Wind (or Bird).
Pakan tallahassee	Aktayatci (or Bear)	Do.
Wiogufki	Aktayatci	Wind.
Okchai	Bear	Do.
Wiwohka	Panther (or Bird)	Do.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear	Bear or Wind.
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind.
Tukabahchee	Eagle (or Raccoon)	Do.
Atasi	Bear	Do.
Ke[illegible]ledji	Raccooon	Do.
Łapłåko	Bear	Bird (or Wind).
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator.
Eufaula, Upper	do	Do.
Alabama	Bear	Aktayatci.
Kasihta	do	Wind (or Tåmi).
Hitchiti	Bird (or Tåmi or Raccoon)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (or Deer)	Bear (or Bird).
Coweta	Fish (or Wind)	Bird.
Eufaula Hobayi	Kapitca	Deer (or Wind)
Chiaha	Fox or Potato	Bear.
Osochi	do	Wind (or Panther).
SEMINOLE TOWNS		
Ochesee	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee	do	Do.
Tallahasutci	do	Do.
Hitchiti	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula	Kapitca	Panther (tástånági).
Łiwahali	Bird (or Potato)	Bear (or Bird).
Chiaha	Bear	Wind (tástånági).
Mikasuki	Alligator (or Snake)	Panther (or Alligator).

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A study of this table yields certain very interesting facts. Taking the henihålgi clans first we find that with few exceptions these come from the White side. The Deer occurs twice, once in Hitchiti and once in Eufaula Hobayi, but in the latter case there is an alternative possibility, while the former applies simply to the last organization of the Hitchiti square. Nevertheless this clan is said to have been used at Tukabahchee as henihålgi during the women's dance. The old woman who gave me the data for Apalchicola said that anciently

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the Hitchiti square was the same as in the Apalchicola town. On the other hand the Seminole Hitchiti had the Toad clan, generally considered akin to the Deer, as their henihálgi. The Deer was, however, considered a White clan in Chiaha, and Chiaha anciently spoke the Hitchiti language. It is therefore possible that the Deer was once a White clan among Hitchiti-speaking people. Again, the Alligator and their allies were the henihálgi at Hilibi and Upper Eufaula, perhaps also in the Mikasuki town; indeed an old Mikasuki Indian told me that the Alligator were considered the henihálgi among all Seminole. While this does not seem to agree with the statements of other Seminole Indians there may nevertheless have been truth in it, since the clans given as henihas among the Seminole are often those which furnished the second chief, and the old organization appears to have fallen to pieces. Possibly the position of the Alligator as henihálgi may have resulted from the influence exerted by the Eufaula band who formed a considerable body among the Seminole. The Alligator, like the Deer, was also sometimes a White clan, and much more frequently. The Aktayatci are given as henihálgi among the Alabama by one informant, but the Alabama town is small and the organization badly broken down, and, besides, another informant stated that the Alligator or Bird were the only henihas. Moreover, the Aktayatci in Alabama were said to form part of the same phratry as the Deer which is sometimes White. Only in the Abihka towns have we a well accredited case of a clan of henihas never reckoned among the Whites. But although the Raccoon clan there plainly performed the functions of the henihálgi one of the very men who gave me the information stated that the south bed was called "bed of the henihálgi" because the Wind clan sat there, and he added that "it was understood that in every town the Wind clan were the henihálgi." The chief of the Mikasuki said the same thing. This, of course, can only mean that in the Abihka town there has been a dislocation of the older usage.

An inspection of the table shows the Wind clan mentioned as henihas seventeen times, eight times without qualification. Next stand the Bird, mentioned ten times, and the Bear four times. There can be little doubt that it was the general opinion that the Wind should be henihálgi, and I am inclined to believe that anciently they were so to a greater extent than at present, but as far back as Hawkins's time we know that they were not henihálgi in a town as important as Kasihta; perhaps their enjoyment of this dignity was partly theoretical and never carried out in all cases. Nevertheless it is certain that almost invariably the henihálgi were a White clan, and this I believe once to have been universally the case, for the henihas were associated with peace and sometimes their bed was called the "white or peace cabin."

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Turning to the chiefs, we do not find such a simple proposition. The chief was selected from the Bear clan in 8 and possibly 11 cases, from the Beaver in 4, from the Aktayatci in 3 and possibly 4, from the Raccoon in 2 to 4, the Bird in from 1 to 4, the Fox or Potato in 2 to 3, the Wind in perhaps 3, the Kapitca in 2 cases, and the Fish, Eagle, Panther, Tämi, Deer, Alligator, and Snake in single cases. The Beaver clan furnished the chiefs in the Tulsa towns and in three Seminole towns which had probably drawn most of their population from the Tulsa towns. The Aktayatci led in Hilibi, Upper Eufaula, Wiogufki, and possibly Pakan tallahassee. The Raccoon is found in two towns traditionally related or closely connected, Tukabahchee and Kealedji, and in Koasati, a near neighbor. The Bird occurs in this position principally in Hitchiti and Hitchiti Seminole, the Wind in the Lower Creek towns, particularly Coweta, and in Tuskegee, the Fox and Potato in the related towns of Chiaha and Osochi, and the Kapitca in Lower Eufaula and in Eufaula Seminole. Of the isolated cases the Eagle is already explained as a branch of or now incorporated with the Raccoon, and in the same way the Fish was an old branch of, or has been incorporated into, the Wind.

The other single cases are all reported from towns that have long given up the busk or which are known to have been reduced very much in numbers and otherwise disorganized. They also occur sometimes where there is disagreement. The Bear clan is the only one that by the number of cases and their distribution suggests a position for the chieftainship similar to that of the Wind for the henihálgi. This is brought out more strongly by the discovery of several cases in which the Bear has been superseded by some other clan only in recent times. By several early writers we find it stated that the White towns were governed by chiefs and the Red towns by warriors. It is evident that tástanágis were never chiefs of towns; therefore all this statement could mean is that the chiefs of Red towns were drawn from Red clans. Examining our lists we find that, in fact, with two exceptions, all of the White towns about which there is unanimity of opinion were ruled by chiefs drawn from White clans. Of the two exceptions one, Wiogufki, claimed relationship with Eufaula and Hilibi, and is said to have been originally a Red town, while the other, Koasati, has long ceased to have busks, and the organization that is remembered is probably one that was adopted after the older form had been partly given up. There are a few other White towns which some hold to have been ruled by Red clans, but one of them, Wiwohka, was thought to be composed of refugees from all quarters, and it early became reduced and disorganized. Another, Pakan tallahassee, which now has the same head clan as Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula, has in late years been closely associated with those towns. Finally, Gatschet was told that the miko of Hitchiti was a Raccoon, and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly 614 622 difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łapłako, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łapłako, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck.

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position 344
of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground 554
for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position [614]
which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall 621
call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[1] tookofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable.

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[1] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. 590.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Talladega	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka-in-the-West	W	E	S	N (for visitors).
Kan-tcati	W	S (west end)	E (north end)	N (wanting).
Otciapofa	W	E	N	S (wanting).
according to Swan	W[1]	S	N	E.[1]
Tulsa Little River	W	N	S	E (for visitors).
Tulsa Canadian (?)	W	S[2]	S[2]	N.
Lutcapoga	W	N[3] (S)	S[3] (N)	E.
Okfuskee	N	W	E	S.
Tcatoksofka	W	E[3]	E[3]	N and S.
Abihkutci	N	W	E	S.
Nuyaka	N	W	E	S.
Talmutcasi	N	E	W	S.
Pakan tallahassee	N	W	S	E (wanting).
Wiogufki (1)	W	S	(wanting)	E.
(2)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Tukpafka	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Asilanabi	W	N	S	E.
Okchai	W	N	S	E.
Łálogálga	W	N	S	E.
Wiwohka (1)	W	E	N	S (wanting).
(2)	W		S	N (wanting).
Tuskegee	W	E[4]	N[4]	S.
Koasati No. 1	S	E(?)	?	?.
Koasati No. 2	W	N	S[5]	N (wanting).
Tukabahchee	SW	NW	SE	NE.
Atasi (1)	N	W	E	S.
(2)	N	S	E	W.
Kealedji	W	N	E(?)	S(?).
Łapłako	W	N	S	E.
Łiwahᵃli	E	S	?	?.
Hilibi	W	S(?)	E(?)	N.
Upper Eufaula	N	S	E	W (wanting).
Alabama	E	W	S(?)[6]	N(?).[6]
Kasihta[7]	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Hitchiti	W	N	E	S.
Okmulgee	W	N	S	E.
Apalachicola	W	N	E	S.
Yuchi	W	N and S[8]		

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[1] Actually Swan transposes these two but, as I have already said (p. 182), I think we may fairly assume a mistake in the notes or in the transcription made from them.

[2] The warriors and the henihas occupied different parts of the same bed. There was no East bed in Tulsa Canadian.

[3] According to two informants.

[4] Speck, on the authority of Leslie Cloud, places the warriors in both the North and East beds, and it is true that the imala or warriors of the second class sat in the North bed.

[5] In modern times the henihas actually sat with the chiefs in the West bed.

[6] These two beds are now entirely wanting.

[7] All authorities, including Hawkins, agree.

[8] There was no East bed.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Coweta (1)	W	E	N	S.
(2)	W	S	N	E.
Likatcka	W	S (east end)	S (west end)	E.[9]
Eufaula Hobayi	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha (1)	S	N	W	E.
(2)[10]	W	S	N	E.
Osochi [10]	W	N	S	E.
Ochesee	W	N	S	E.
Okfuskee Seminole	W	N	S	E.
Tallahasutci	W	N	S	E.
Hitchiti Seminole	W	N	S	E(?).
Eufaula Seminole	W	N (?)	S (?)	E (wanting).
Liwahali Seminole	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha Seminole	W	S (?)	N (?)	E.
Mikasuki	W	N	S (?)	E.

[9] There was no name for the North bed.

[10] According to two informants.

The chiefs' bed we find almost always to the west, and, excepting in one case, always to the west among the Lower Creeks and the Seminole. The town square which Adair describes, whether it was Creek or Chickasaw, also had the chiefs' bed to the west, and he tells us specifically that it lay to the west in the old town of Coosa which has long since vanished. The exceptions are in the cases of the Okfuskee towns,[2a] Pakan tallahassee, Atasi, and Upper Eufaula, in which it was north; Liwahali and Alabama in which it was east; and "Koasati No. 1" and the early Chiaha square in which it was south. I do not feel thorough confidence in the data from Atasi, Liwahali, and Koasati No. 1, but the cases for the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, Upper Eufaula, and Alabama are proved by the existing squares. Chiaha and Koasati No. 1 may perhaps be explained by Tukabahchee in which the bed lies southwest and is said sometimes to lie west and again to lie south. Possibly the peculiar reverse arrangement among the Alabama is due to the fact that the Alabama were at one time adopted by the Okchai who told them that they might "sit on the other side of their fire." At that time, therefore, their chiefs may have occupied the east cabin, and they may have retained the same position after separating from the Okchai. In the case of the Okfuskee I can only say that, as their towns lay well to the north and east, they may have desired to face somewhat inward toward the rest of the nation. But this is purely conjecture. Turning to the warriors' bed we find that in about 23 cases it was to the north, in 12 to 16 south, 6 to 11 east, and 5 or 6 west. In Hawkins's description of

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[2a] Tcatoksofka, which seems to constitute an exception, has long been abandoned and information regarding it is somewhat doubtful.

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a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihas is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihas' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihas themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihas, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihas' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

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The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihas, warriors, or youths.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Abihka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Abihka-in-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kan-tcati	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tulsa Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutcapoga	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Tcatoksofka	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutci	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka	E(h)	N(c)				
Talmutcasi	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wiogufki	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka	S(h)					W(c)
Asilanabi	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Łáłogálga	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S(h))
Tuskegee	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c)(E(w))	N(h), W(c)(—)	
Koasati No. 1	S(c)	S(c)(?)	?	?	?	?
Koasati No. 2	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabahchee	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h)(S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&(E(h))	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kealedji	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Łapłako	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Liwahali						
Hilibi	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)		W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)		E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w)(N(w)	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W(c))
Yuchi[1]						
Coweta	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Łikatcka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha	(W(c))	W(h)(S(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N?(h))
Osochi	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahassutci	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)(?)		N(w)
Eufaula	S(h)					N(w)
Liwahali	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci	Snake	Potato	Tâmi
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-tcati	S(w)	E(h)				
Otciapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tulsa Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Lutcapoga	(N(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S (h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tcatoksofka	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wiogufki	S(w)W(c)	E (y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W (c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asilanabi	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Łålogålga		W(c)				
Wiwohka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h))	E(w)(—)	W(c) ?	E(w)	N(h)
Tuskegee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))	(E(w))	N(h)(E(w))		N(h)	
Koasati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Koasati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukabahchee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kealedji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Łaplåko	S(h)	S(h)	W(c) (S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Łiwahali	E(c)					
Hilibi		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobayi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))		(N(h))	
Alabama			E(c)			
Kasihta	N(w)	S(h)(and N (w))	N(w)(and S (h))		S(h)	N(w)(S (h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w) (W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Łikatcka	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Osochi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Okfuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahasutci	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Łiwahali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

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[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Turkey	Pakana	Kapitca	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Talladega						
Abihka						
Abihka-in-the-West						
Kan-tcati						
Otciapofa		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Lutcapoga						
Okfuskee	S(y)					
Tcatoksofka	N, S					
Abihkutci				S(y)		
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(c)		
Wiogufki	S(w) W(a)					
Tukpafka						
Asilanabi	S(h)					
Okchai						
Lalogalga						
Wiwohka		W(c)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Koasati No. 1						
Koasati No. 2						
Tukabahchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kealedji	S(h)				E(h)	
Laplako	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Liwahali						
Hilibi	W(a)					
Upper Eufaula	E(h)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kasihta				N(w)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(a)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(h)(W(c))
Yuchi[1]						
Coweta						
Likatcka						
Chiaha					(S(w))	
Osochi			(N(w))	N(w)(S(h))	N(w)(S(h))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Oconee			S(h)		W(c)	
Okfuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahassee	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(a)			
Liwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chiaha						
Mikasuki						

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Skunk	Fox	Eagle	Wakai	Miscellaneous
Talladega					
Abihka					
Abihka-in-the-West					
Kan-tcati					
Otciapofa					
Tulsa Little River			S(h)		
Lutcapoga			S(w)		N(h) (Tcowasta)
Okfuskee					
Tcatoksofka			W(c)		
Abihkutci	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka					
Talmutcasi					
Pakan tallahassee					
Wiogufki					
Tukpafka					
Asilanabi					
Okchai					
Łałogalga					
Wiwohka	N(h)				
Tuskegee					
Kasati No. 1					
Kasati No. 2					
Tukabahchee	W(c)(?)				
Atasi					
Kealedji		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Łdjimi)
Łapłako					
Łiwahali					
Hilibi					
Upper Eufaula					
Eufaula Hobayi		(N(h))			
Alabama		N(w)			(W(c)(S(h)) (Fish)
Kasihta					
Hitchiti					
Okmulgee		S(h)			
Apalachicola					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi [1]					
Coweta					
Łikatcka					
Chiaha	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Osotci		W(c)(—)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Ocheese					S(h) (Otter)
Okfuskee					
Tallahassutci					
Hitchiti					S(h) (Toad and Tcokota)
Eufaula					
Łiwahali					
Chiaha					
Mikasuki					W(c) (Otter)

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

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number of different informants; in others we are dependent upon the testimony of only one or two of the oldest people and not much reliance can be placed upon it. I give the Lower Creek square first, then the Upper Creek squares, and finally the Seminole squares, the squares in White towns having precedence in each case. Names of White clans have been underlined when the native responsible for the plan in question furnished information on the subject.

The first plan (fig. 6) gives the square of Talladega.

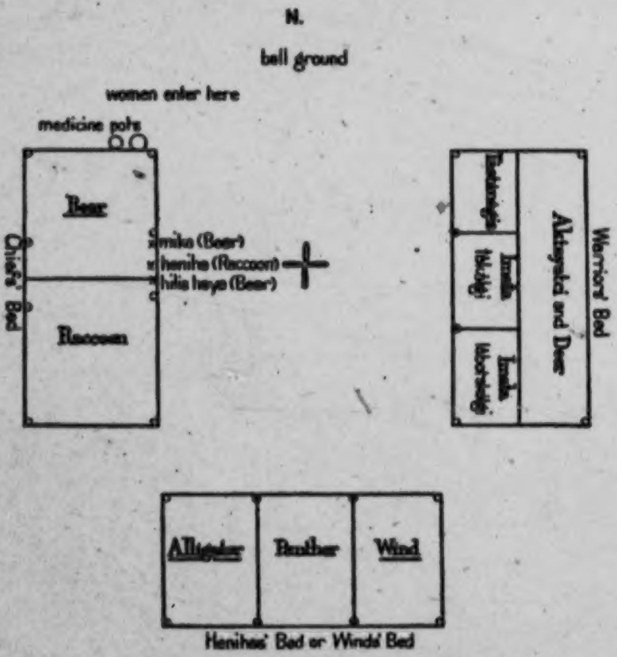
N.
ball ground
women enter here
medicine pots
Bear
Raccoon
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Bear)
heniha (Raccoon)
hilis haya (Bear)
Tastanagi
Imala labotskalgi
Imala lakalgi
Aktayatci and Deer
Warriors' Bed
Alligator
Panther
Wind
Henihas' Bed or Winds' Bed

Fig. 6.—Plan of the Talladega Square Ground

This represents the proper theoretical arrangement. Actually the Bear and Raccoon people were mixed somewhat indiscriminately in the west bed. Although the Raccoon people are now the henihálgi it is understood that those of the Wind clan should fill that office, not only here but in every other town. The hilis-haya should be a Bear, as represented above, but in practice any qualified man might be selected, regardless of clan.

One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja, the other a mixture consisting of may-apple roots, wormseed, totka djuk-hisi ("fire-bed moss"), wio'fa fá'ki saigi'ngi ("dirt snatched up"), tcato hátkutci ("little white [granite] rocks"), and totka hi'liswa ("fire medicine").

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These were for the ordinary stomp dances. At the busk a pot of pasa was added. There were about three i'sti âtca'gâgi in each bed. There was no head man among the tástánâgis; all were called in council by the miko when it was necessary to remodel the ground or undertake any other matter of the sort. The accompanying plan of the entire Talladega ground (fig. 7) was made by the writer in 1912.

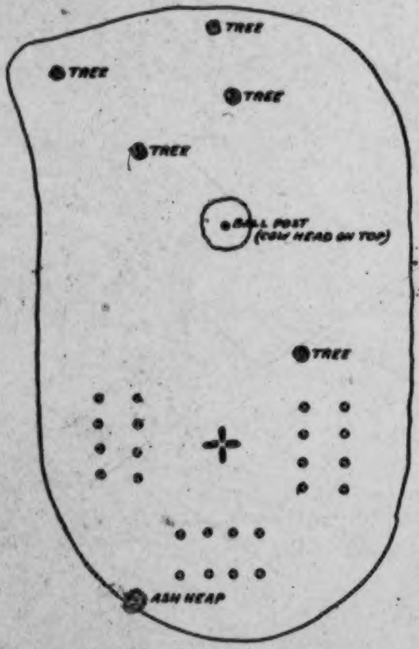

FIG. 7.—Talladega Ceremonial Ground (including Square) in 1912

Figure 8 shows the old Abihka ground near Eufaula, Okla. The chieftainship in this town alternated between the Raccoon and Bear clans, the second chief being of the Bear when the head chief was from the Raccoon and vice versa. When the head chief died, the second chief took his place. This square ground was given up when my informant was a boy. He stated that here, or possibly at one of the other Abihka grounds, there was a tcokofa toward the east.

Figure 9 gives Abihka-in-the-West. There were two pots of medicine, one containing 10 different ingredients. The cold medicine was left just where it was first prepared; the other was moved over to the north side of the fire. There were three or four i'sti âtca'gâgi in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the Winds' bed. The i'sti âtca'gâgi decided where and when a ball game was to be played. The tástánâgis and imalas, at least the big imalas, had their own chiefs distinct from the i'sti âtca'gâgi. There were no tcukolaidji, male managers of the women's dance.

Figure 10 is Kan-tcati.

The only information we have regarding the square ground of the ancient Coosa town is given by Adair, who says in a footnote: "I remember, in Koosah, the uppermost western town of the Muskohge, which was a place of refuge, their supposed holiest consisted of a neat house, in the centre of the western square, and the door of it was in the south gable-end close to the white cabbin, each

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on a direct line, north and south."[8] The passage to which this is appended contains the description of a square ground so generalized that it is impossible to say to what town or towns it applied specifically. Possibly it gives the old order of the Chickasaw square, but it is probable, in any case, that the Coosa square agreed with it, since that was one of those with which Adair was most familiar. It lay upon the trail between Augusta, Ga., and the Chickasaw country. His remarks are as follows: "Those of them [the American aborigines] who yet retain a supposed most holy place, contrary to the usage of the old heathen world, have it standing at the west end of the holy quadrangular ground: and they always appoint those of the meanest rank, to sit on the seats of the eastern square, so that their backs are to the east, and faces to the west. The red square looks north; and the second men's cabbin, as the traders term the other square, of course looks south." It is to be noted that Adair uses the word "square" for each cabin or bed. Accepting this as the arrangement at Coosa, the square would be about as in Figure 11.

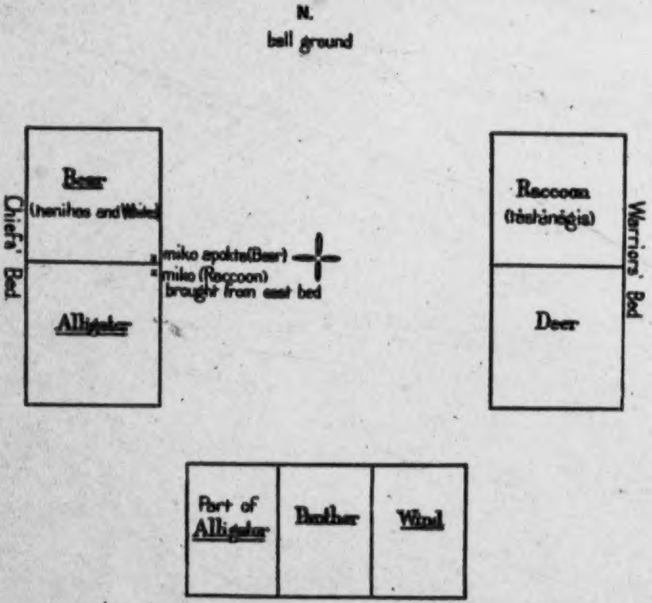
N.
ball ground
Bear
(henihas and Wind)
Chiefs' Bed
Alligator
miko apokta (Bear)
miko (Raccoon)
brought from east bed
Raccoon
(täshänägi)
Warriors' Bed
Deer
Part of
Alligator
Panther
Wind

FIG. 8.—Plan of the Abihka Square Ground (near Eufaula, Okla.)

It is possible that Adair means by "looks north" and "looks south," "lies north" and "lies south," in which case the relative positions of the henihas' and warriors' beds would have to be transposed. Be that as it may, the description shows that the Coosa square was very similar to those of the Coweta and Kasihta, the other principal towns of pure Muskogee stock, and it seems to be confirmed by what we know of the daughter town Otciapofa. The inclosed place where the sacred vessels and other objects were kept may not have extended to the very front of the west bed as I have represented, but such a position is plainly indicated by the wording in Adair.

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[8] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 112.

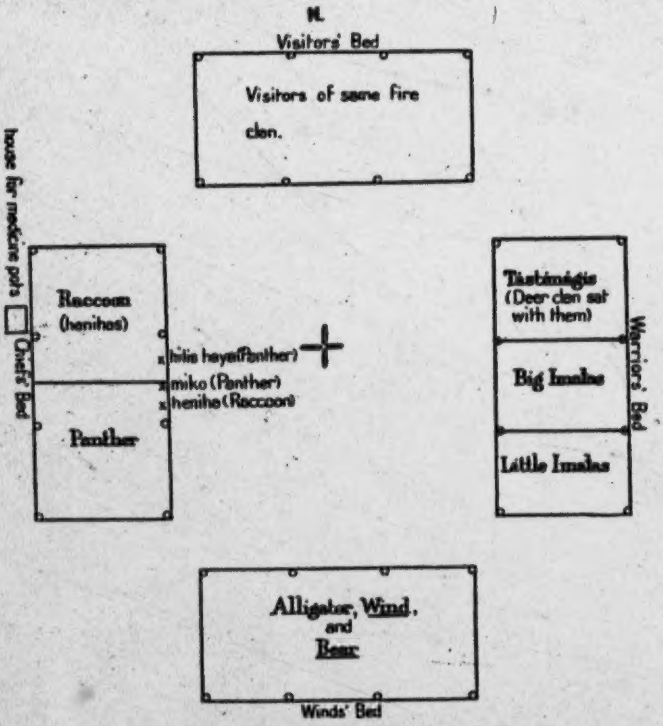
N.
Visitors' Bed
Visitors of same fire clan.
house for medicine pots
Chief's Bed
Raccoon (henihas)
Panther
x hilis haya (Panther)
x miko (Panther)
x heniha (Raccoon)
Tästanágis (Deer clan sat with them)
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
Warriors' Bed
Alligator, Wind, and Bear
Winds' Bed

FIG. 9.—Plan of the Square Ground of Abihka-in-the-West

In Figure 12 is what is probably the Otciapofa ground, reproduced from Swan. Figure 13 shows the later plan of Otciapofa as described to me personally. Four isti àtcagágis sat in each of these three beds; there was no south bed as far back as my informant could remember. The plan of the Otciapofa busk ground (fig. 14) was made by the writer in 1912.

In Figure 15 is shown the Tulsa Little River square.

There were very few of the Panther clan in this town, and but one or two belonging to the Kapitca. The old tcokofa is said to

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have lain to the west, probably in the same situation as that of Lutcapoga.

Figure 16 shows the square as it existed in 1911.

Figure 17 is from a rough native description of Tulsa Canadian.

Figures 18 and 19 show the arrangement of Lutcapoga according to two different authorities. The data for the first were given me by Legus Perryman, except that the east bed and the tcokofa are added on the authority of his brother. The latter also stated that the Aktayatci were the tástánágis here, and that the hilis-haya sat in the front seat in the Bear's bed.

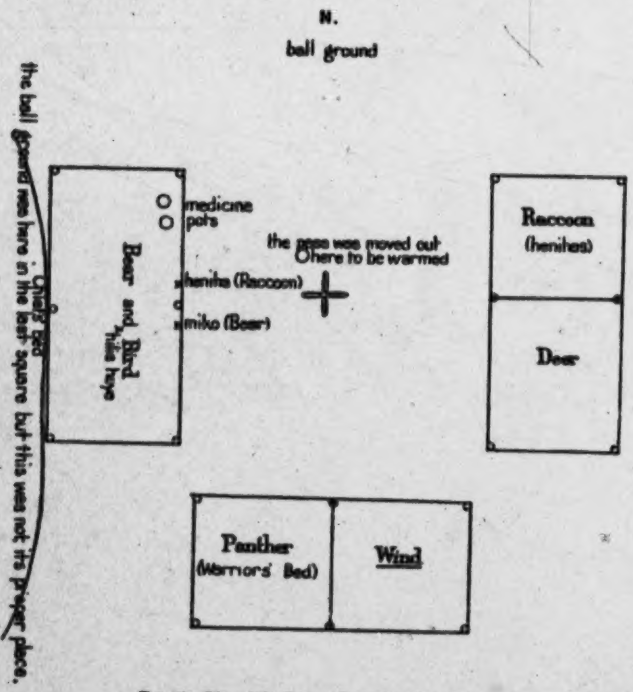
N.
ball ground
the ball ground was here in the last square but this was not its proper place.
Chiefs bed
medicine pots
Bear and Bird hilis haya
heniha (Raccoon)
miko (Bear)
the pots were moved out here to be warmed
Raccoon (henihas)
Deer
Panther (Warriors' Bed)
Wind

FIG. 19.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kan-tcati

This town was founded because the Tulsa people had become so numerous that their square was overcrowded. The tástánági was speaker for the miko, and the words "he says so and so" occurred over and over in his discourses. The itálwa miko was assistant to the miko. The táski heniha was a leader in the women's dance, a "white dance" called itcha obánga.[56] There was another women's dance at the end of the ceremony which was a war dance danced by the Potato

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[56] See p. 609 in following paper. Originally it seems to have been a war dance.

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people (Ahalági). The Aktayatci had charge of and distributed the medicine, although the hilis-haya himself could belong to any clan.

The old tcokofa was provided on the east side with a special seat for the women. It had a smoke hole.

The chief of Lutcapoga about 1852 was a man named Hadji yâhola, who was succeeded by Tciyāha. This man died about 1857 and was followed by Tâlsi fiksiko, who died in the winter of 1862.

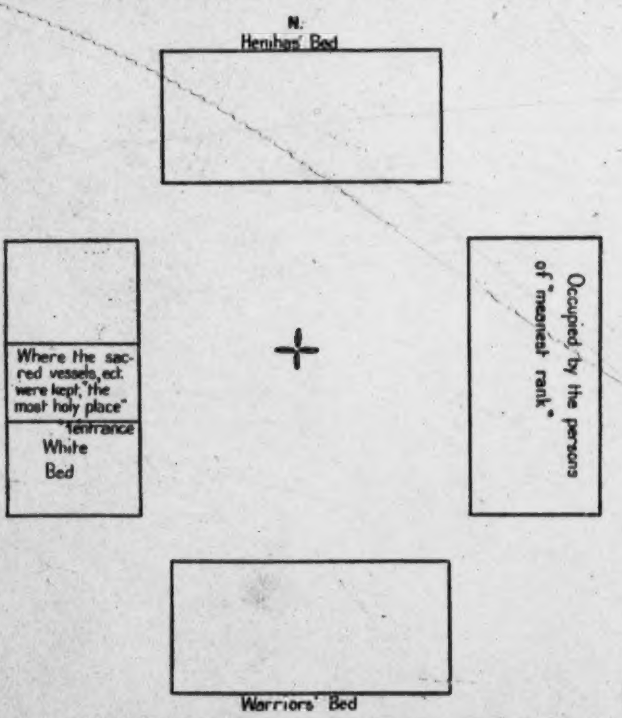
N.
Henihas' Bed
Where the sacred vessels, ect. were kept, "the most holy place"
"entrance
White Bed
Occupied by the persons of "meanest rank"
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 11.—Conjectural arrangement of the Coosa Square Ground

Next came in succession Miko fiksiko and Itchāswa (Beaver). The last was living in 1912.

Figure 20 is Nuyaka. My informant stated that there were only two individuals belonging to the Panther clan in this town, and that no especial place was provided for the Deer clan. Figure 21 is a plan of the entire busk ground as it appeared in 1912.

Figure 22 is from a native description of Okfuskee.

There were very few in this town belonging to the Potato and Raccoon clans and they probably sat in the south bed. Besides the two isti âtcagági in the east bed there was one in each of the others.

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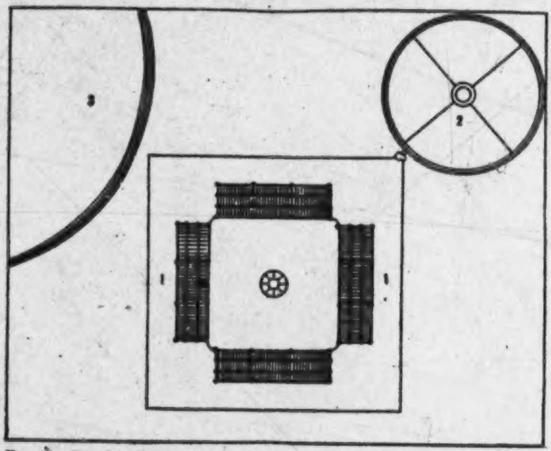

FIG. 12.—Plan of a Creek Ceremonial Ground as given by Swan. The top of this illustration is west instead of north. 1, Square; 2, Tcokofa; 3, Chunkey yard

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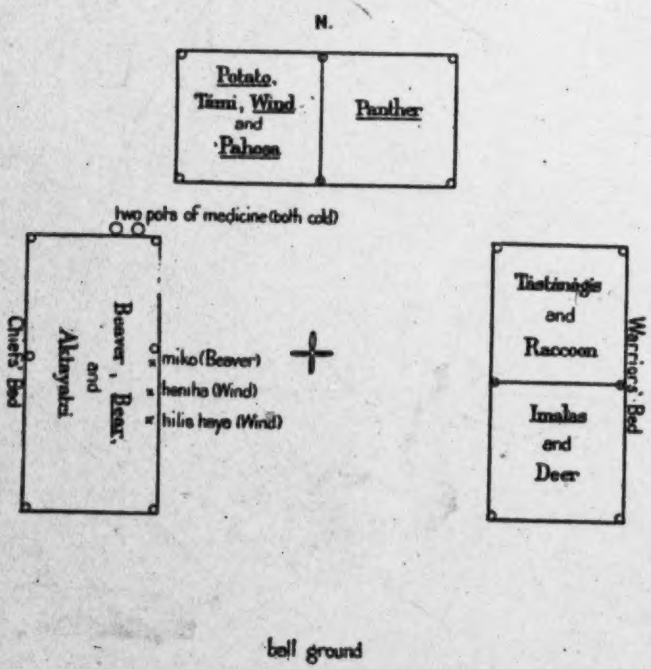
N.
Potato, Tämi, Wind and Pahosa
Panther
two pots of medicine (both cold)
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver, Bear, and Aktayahci
miko (Beaver)
heniha (Wind)
hilis haya (Wind)
Tästanagis and Raccoon
Imalas and Deer
Warriors' Bed
ball ground

FIG. 13.—Plan of the Otciapofa Square Ground

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a. General view of the Busk Ground of Chiaha Seminole, Seminole County, Okla., in 1912

C.
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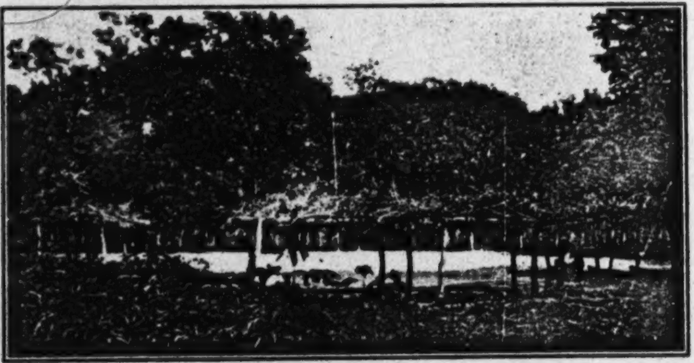

b. The Square Ground of Pakan tallahassee near Hanna, Okla., in 1912

c. The North or Chiefs' Bed of Pakan tallahassee

CREEK CEREMONIAL OR BUSK GROUNDS

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In the adiloga medicine they used maypop root (obaha), totka hiliswa, wilana (wormseed), and totka djukhisi (fire bed moss). The miko hoyanidja did not go in with these.

Figure 23 is Abihkutci and Figure 24 contains all of the information I could obtain regarding Talmutcasi.

The younger brother of the woman from whom this information came gave a different description of the square, but it was so close to that of Tukabahchee that I believe it can not be relied upon, and that it was a deduction from the belief that all of the other squares were modeled on that of Tukabahchee.

The next (fig. 25) shows Tcatoksofka. The rank of clans in the west bed is said to have been as follows: Bear, Beaver, Bird. Visiting chiefs were seated in the same beds as the chiefs of the town, visiting warriors in the same beds as the warriors, and so on. The occupants of the Chiefs' bed took their medicine first, then those in the east bed, and finally those in the north and south beds. The two common medicines, miko hoyanidja and pasa, were used.

Figures 26 and 27 give the plan of Pakan tallahassee as recorded from two different informants. The numbers back of the beds indicate the order in which their occupants came out to take the medicine. According to one informant the third and fourth chiefs belonged to the Bear clan instead of the Panther clan as here given; another stated that the Panther people were not confined to a particular part of the Chiefs' bed but could sit anywhere. The bearers of the medicine consisted of two of the Bird clan, one of the Deer, and one of the Bear. The four leaders of the women were taken, one each, from the Wind, Deer, Bear, and Bird clans. They took their medicine at the northeast corner and fasted one day and one night.

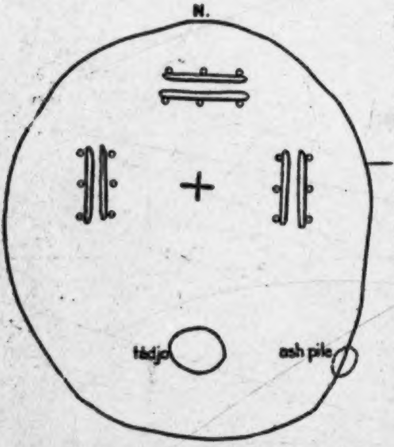

FIG. 14.—Otciapofa Ceremonial Ground in 1912

My authority for the second plan stated that the people of the Bird clan were called isti àtcagàgi, and that imalas are not used any more.

The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 28) is from data obtained in 1912.

Plate 2 is shown the Pakan tallahassee busk ground looking east (b) and the north or Chiefs' bed (c) as they appeared in the summer of 1912.

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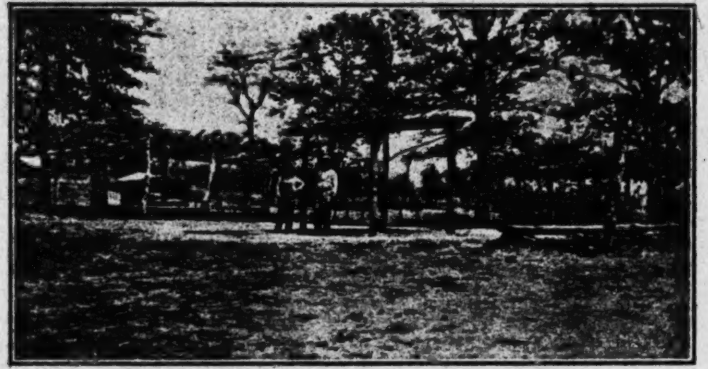
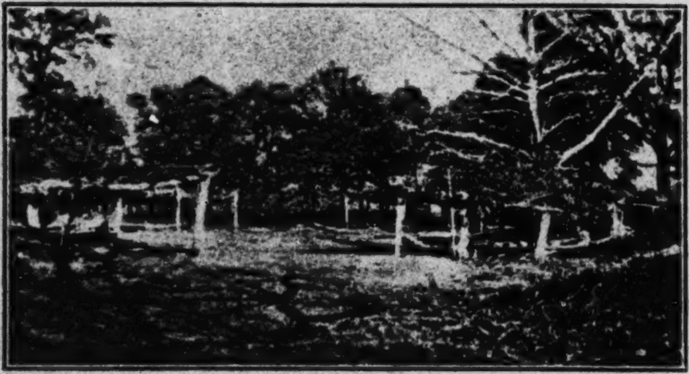


a. The Square Ground of Eufaula (1912)

b. The south (or southeast) bed of Tukabahchee



c. Tukabahchee Square Ground from the west entrance

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

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Figures 29 and 30 show the organization of Wiogufki according to two different informants. In later times the Alligator people became first henihas and then mikos. There is now but one tástánági, who is seated as indicated in the first plan. When the former hilis-haya was about to die he taught the proper formulae to a boy of the Deer clan who happened to be the best fitted for this office. There were no isti átcagági in recent times, the tástánági being used as a "choice man." In this town a new seat was made for the hilis-haya every year.

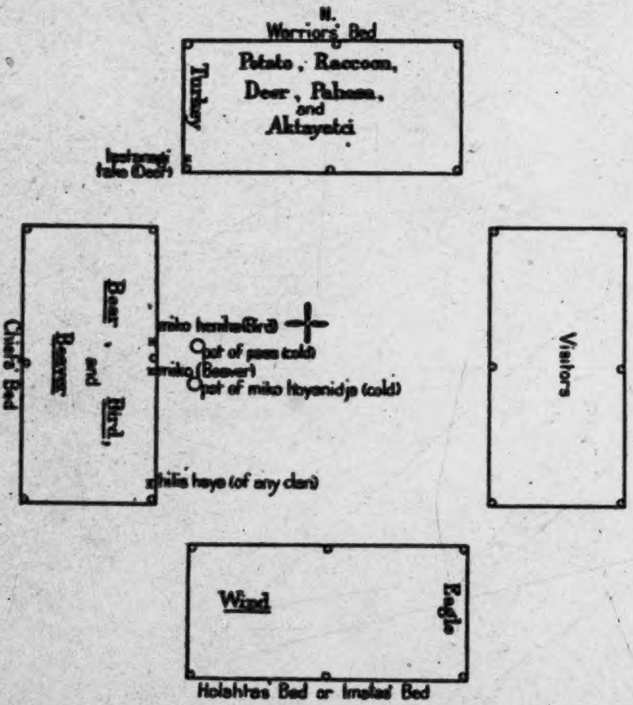
N.
Warriors' Bed
Potato, Raccoon,
Deer, Pahosa,
and
Aktayatci
Turkey
tastanagi
(Deer)
Chief's Bed
Bear, Bird,
and
Beaver
miko heniha (Bird)
pot of pasa (cold)
miko (Beaver)
pot of miko hoyanidja (cold)
hilis haya (of any clan)
Visitors
Wind
Eagle
Holahtas' Bed or Imalas' Bed

FIG. 15.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Little River

The subjoined plan of the Wiogufki square ground (fig. 31) is from data gathered in 1912.

The next sketch (fig. 32) contains all that the old men could remember of Tukpafka. This square ground was given up many years ago. My two informants agreed very well regarding most of the details of the plan, except that one of them thought the medicine pots were placed at the north end of the west bed and the other believed they were at the south end.

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Besides the clans enumerated above there were some Raccoon and Potato and in ancient times some Beaver. There were never any Alligator, Bear, or Bird. Two men sang for the women when they danced, one man carrying a white gourd rattle, the other a blue one.

Figure 33 is a rough diagram based on a study of the site of the last Tukpafka square ground. We now come to the Fish Pond Towns. Figure 34 shows Asilanabi.

Besides the clans given there were a few individuals belonging to the Aktayatci clan, but these sat anywhere. The Raccoon clan were leaders of the Tcilokis and were followed in order of rank by the Panther, Deer, Beaver, Aktayatci, and Alligator in succession. The old tcokofa was placed as in the plan, to the northwest of the square, but after they returned at the conclusion of the Civil War, an old man who had preserved ashes from the tcokofa throughout that contest said that it would not be good to use the old place again, so he deposited the ashes just east of the east bed. It does not appear, however, that a new tcokofa was erected over them. It is said that in reality there ought to be three beds, each having eight posts, instead of the four with six posts. The one left out was probably that on the east. The accompanying plan of this square (fig. 35) is from data gathered in 1912 by the author.

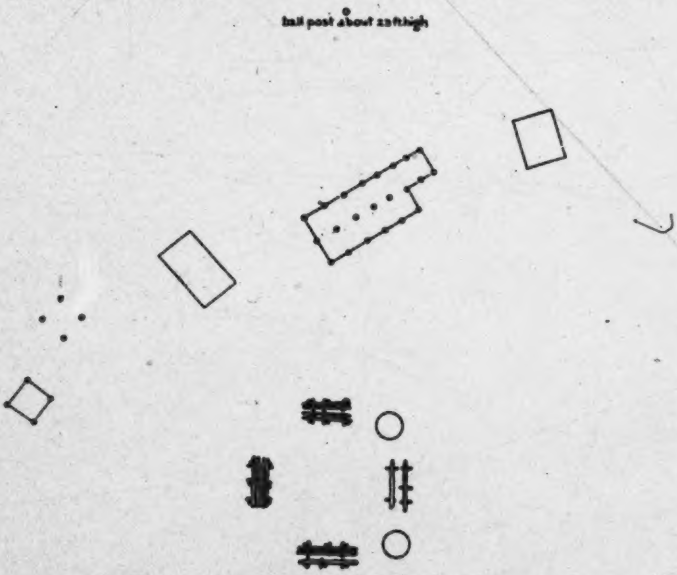

FIG. 16.—Tulsa Little River Ceremonial Ground in 1911

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Figure 36 is Okchai. According to my informant, the Wind clan were known as isti âtcagâgi. He stated that the tâstânâgis could overrule the miko sometimes on the ground that a thing was unconstitutional.

The plan shown in Figure 37 represents the square ground as it existed in 1911–12.

Figure 38 is Łàlogàlga or Fish Pond proper.

According to another informant—in whom I do not, however, place unlimited confidence—the east bed was used for visitors, and the north bed occupied throughout by the Deer clan. He placed the Aktayatci and Tàmi in the northern compartment of the west bed, the Pahosa and Potato in the middle section, and "old people" in the southern. The medicine pots were at the north end of the same bed, and the pot of medicine for the women and children was at the south end of this bed; the women also entered to dance at the latter place. In the south bed were the rest of the clans, the henihas being in the easternmost section. In Figure 39 is a plan of the Łàlogàlga square as it existed in 1912.

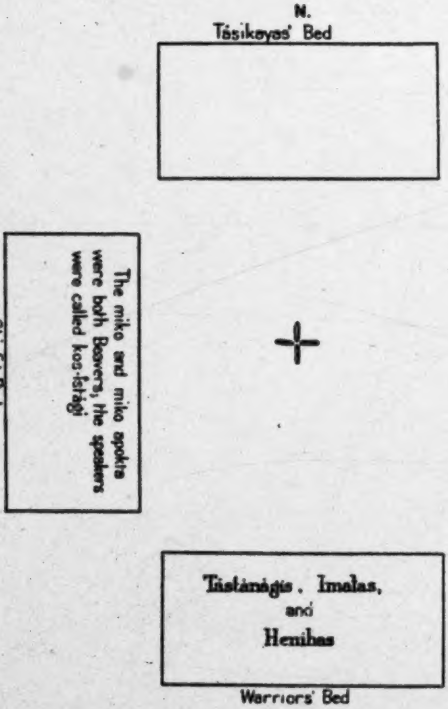
N.
Tásikayas' Bed
The miko and miko apokta were both Beavers, the speakers were called kos-ístági
Chiefs' Bed
Tástánágis . Imalas, and Henihas
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 17.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Canadian

Figures 40 and 41 show Wiwohka. The essential differences between these two plans of the square may be explained if we suppose that the second informant, or my interpreter, misunderstood the location of the north bed and placed it on the south side. The correctness of the first plan is confirmed by a third account which in other respects is inferior to either of those given. The only other discrepancy is in the position of the Wind clan which the first informant placed in the north bed and the second in the west bed. This was perhaps due to an assumption on the part of the second informant

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that the henihas would be seated in the same bed as the miko's heniha. My third informant also committed an evident blunder in placing the Chief's bed to the east instead of the west. All three agreed in giving the Panther clan as that of the chiefs and the Wind clan that of the henihas.

In Figure 42 is a plan of Tuskegee by one of its former chiefs. One informant thought that the Potato were the henihas, but I

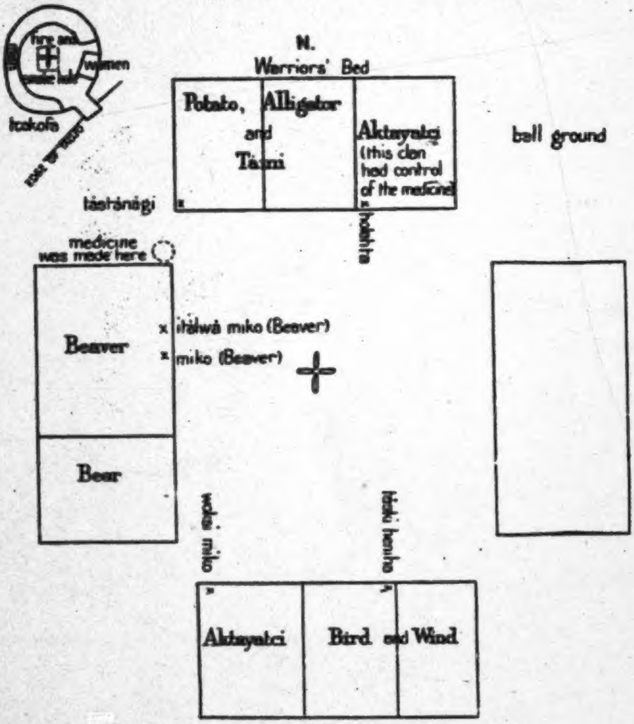
fire and
women
tcokofa
N.
Warriors' Bed
Potato,
Alligator
and
Tasmi
Aktayatci
(this clan had control of the medicine)
ball ground
tastanagi
heniha
medicine was made here
x itálwá miko (Beaver)
x miko (Beaver)
Beaver
Bear
woksi miko
itcki heniha
Aktayatci
Bird
and Wind

FIG. 18.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (I)

believe this to have been a mistake. It is probable that the Wind clan originally constituted the henihas but subsequently came to furnish the chiefs.

Figure 43 is the square ground of the same town as remembered by another informant. The plan given by Doctor Speck on the authority of Leslie Cloud confirms both of the preceding in the main in regard to the uses to which the various beds were put, and it confirms that of the first informant, Silas Jefferson, in regard to the position occupied by the medicine pots.[4]

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[4] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

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There were two groups of Koasati Indians in Oklahoma, each with its own square ground. The square of the first, called Koasati No. 1, was given up so long ago that not much can be recalled regarding it. David Cummings, who attended the busks at this ground when he was a boy, although he was not a Koasati himself, stated that there were four beds, and that the open space between them was entirely covered with an arbor. The Chief's bed, as he remembered, was on the south, and the miko himself of either the Bear or the Panther clan. The Wind clan sat at the east end of the Chief's bed and were probably the henihas, though of this he was not certain. The ball ground was on the east and the women entered at the southeast corner. The Warriors' bed was probably on the east.

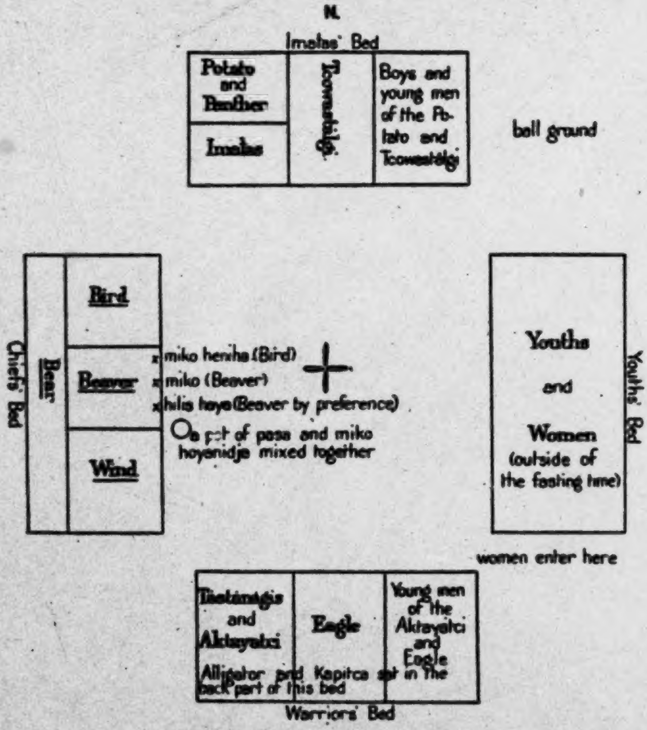
N.
Imalas' Bed
Potato and Panther
Imalas
Tcowastalgi
Boys and young men of the Potato and Tcowastalgi
ball ground
Chiefs' Bed
Bear
Bird
Beaver
Wind
x miko heniha (Bird)
x miko (Beaver)
x hilis haya (Beaver by preference)
a pot of pasa and miko hoyanidja mixed together
Youths and Women (outside of the fasting time)
Youths' Bed
women enter here
Tastanagis and Aktayatci
Eagle
Young men of the Aktayatci and Eagle
Alligator and Kapitca sat in the back part of this bed
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 19.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (II)

The later square, Koasati No. 2, is shown in Figure 44.

Figures 45–47 are plans of the Tukabahchee square ground from as many different informants. The first said that if it were possible the hilis-haya was selected from the Raccoon clan; if that position is

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filled from any other clan, the man so chosen is seated at the west end of the north bed. The tcunuk hadjo and the holahta in the Youths' section are the only officers who do not have henihas. One of the tástánágis was known as Kosa Tástánági. He belonged to the Wind clan, and his mate was a Raccoon called Tukabahchee Tástánági. The Youths prepared the feather wands for the feather dance just back of the central portion of the Chiefs' bed.

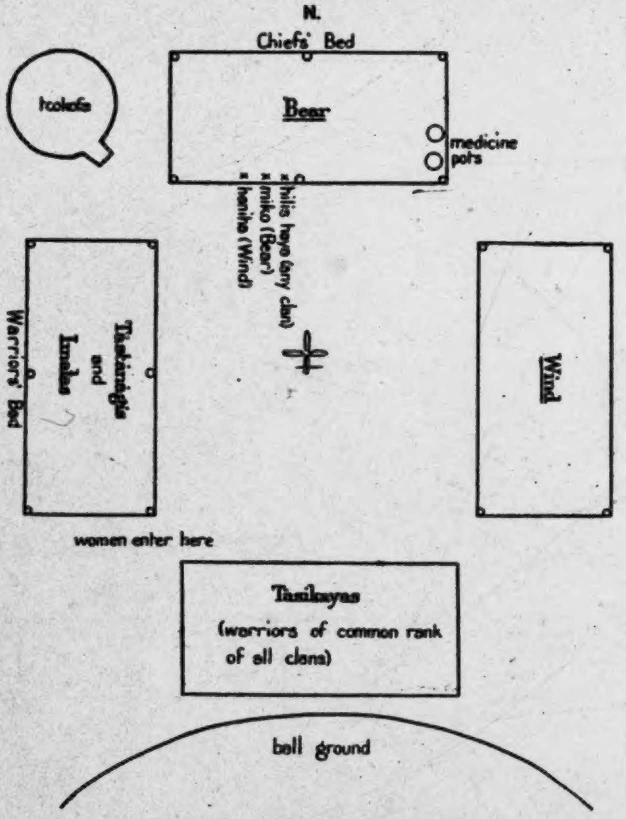
N.
Chiefs' Bed
tcokofa
Bear
medicine
pots
x hilis hayo (any clan)
x miko (Bear)
x heniha (Wind)
Tástánágis
and
Imalas
Warriors' Bed
Wind
women enter here
Tasikayas
(warriors of common rank
of all clans)
ball ground

FIG. 20.—Plan of the Nuyaka Square Ground

According to the second informant the clans might change their positions in a bed but not the bed itself, and according to the third all of the clans in the north, east, and south beds were Tcilokis.

Figure 48 is a plan of the busk ground made in 1912.

Figure 49 gives the arrangement of the old busk ground near Melette, Okla., as nearly as it could be made out in 1912–1914. Plate

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3, *b*, shows the south or southeast bed of Tukabahchee and Plate 3, *c*, the square looking through the western entrance, between the beds of the Chiefs and Warriors. Plate 5, *a*, shows the mound where the buffalo and war dances were performed.

Figures 50 and 51 are based on the recollections of two of the oldest and best informed Atasi Indians. The father of the man who furnished me with the information on which the first is based was chief of Atasi; his war name was Fus hâtci miko.

Still another informant said that the Chiefs' bed was in the west and the Warriors' bed in the north, and that the medicine pots were at the north end of the former. The details given thus agree exactly with the arrangement of Tukabahchee with which I believe the informant had confused it, since Atasi is supposed to have been a branch of that town. He said that the medicines were like those used at Tukabahchee, and that the last chief was of the Bird clan, the one before him of the Bear clan. According to another informant the last chief was a Raccoon, the one before probably a Bear; and he added that the last chief's heniha was a Bear, the one before a Deer.

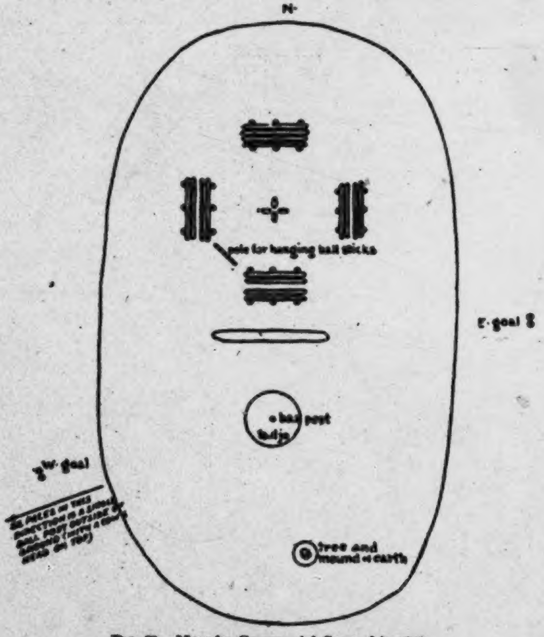

FIG. 21.—Nuyaka Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figures 52 and 53 embody two descriptions of the square of Kealedji. The isti âtcagâgi sulga sat at the south end of the Chief's bed.

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Accompanying is a rough sketch (fig. 54) of the first square ground used by the people of this town after they moved across the Mississippi River as it appeared in 1912 after having been abandoned a great many years.

The Łapłåko square is shown in Figures 55 and 56. There were a few isti âtcagâgi in the west bed.

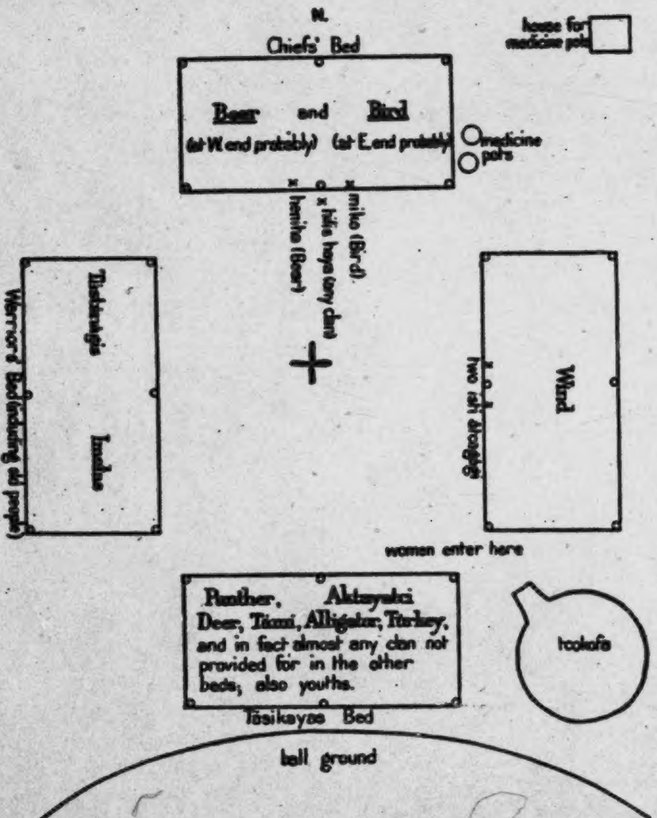
N.
house for medicine pole
Chiefs' Bed
Bear and Bird
(at W. end probably) (at E. end probably)
medicine pots
mi'ko (Bird)
hi'la haya (any clan)
henîha (Bear)
Tastanagis
Imalas
Warrior's Bed (including all people)
Wind
two isti âtcagâgi
women enter here
Panther, Aktayatci
Deer, Tâmi, Alligator, Turkey,
and in fact almost any clan not provided for in the other beds; also youths.
Tâsikayas Bed
tcokofa
ball ground

FIG. 54.—Plan of the Okfuskee Square Ground

According to my second informant eight men belonging to the Wind and Raccoon clans were appointed to procure the medicines and bring the water.

The discrepancies between these two plans may be accounted for largely by the fact that my second informant was a Tukabahchee who seems to have confused the Łapłåko square with that of his own town to some extent. However, the arrangement of the Tukabah-

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chee square was considered "standard" by many people, and it is probable that that of Łapłako was modified in later times to agree with it. The second informant also stated that the Chiefs' bed was on the south, again in agreement with the Tukabahchee plan, although in fact the latter is rather southwest, the entrances between the beds being directed toward the cardinal points. Accompanying (fig. 57) is a rough plan of the ground where the people of this town met before a ball game.

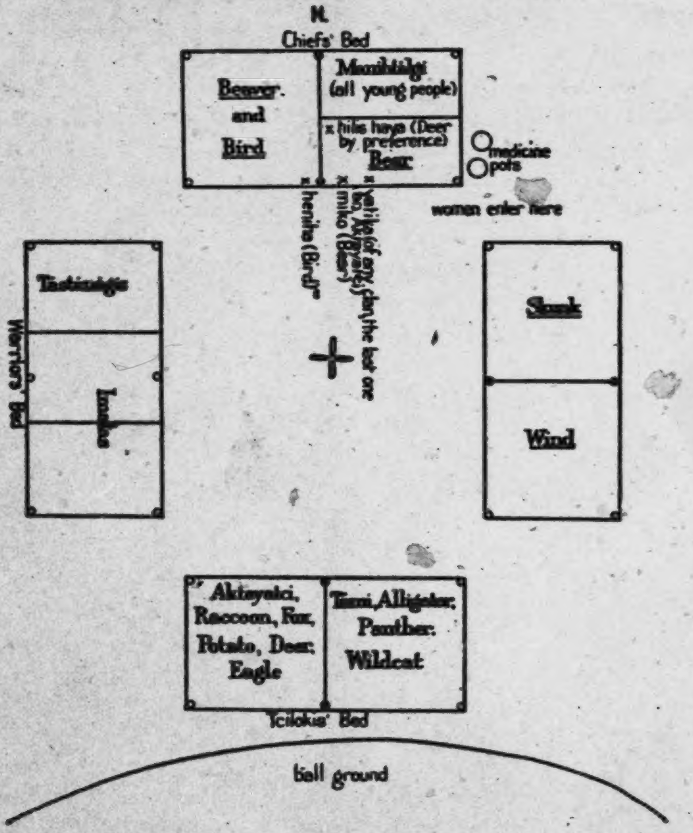
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver and Bird
Mamiktalgi (all young people)
x hilis haya (Deer by preference)
Bear
medicine pots
women enter here
x heniha (Bird)
x miko (Bear)
x yatika (of any clan) the last one
Tastanagis
Warriors' Bed
Imalas
Skunk
Wind
Aktayatci, Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Deer, Eagle
Tami, Alligator, Panther, Wildcat
Tcilokis' Bed
ball ground

FIG. 57.—Plan of the Abihkutci Square Ground

Figure 58 shows the last organization of the Łiwahali square just before it petered out. The hilis-haya was always of the Deer clan and sat with his own people. This ground, as here represented, was in the last stage of decline, and not much can be inferred from it. The old man who furnished me with the best data regarding Łapłako,

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a comparatively late offshoot from Łiwahali, stated that the latter ground was originally identical with that of Łaplåko except that the miko was a Panther and the heniha a Deer.

This town used several squares in succession before the Civil War, and two afterwards. My informant stated that the tástánágis were appointed from any clans occupying the south bed. If the miko had to leave the square for any reason the miko apokta took charge.

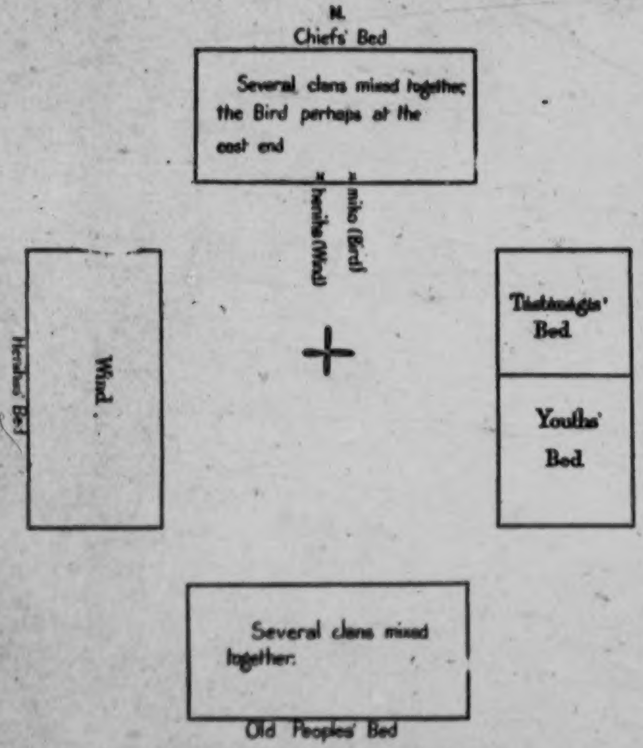
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Several clans mixed together; the Bird perhaps at the east end
miko (Bird)
heniha (Wind)
Henihas' Bed
Wind
Tástánágis' Bed
Youths' Bed
Several clans mixed together.
Old Peoples' Bed

FIG. 58.—Plan of the [illegible] Square Ground

The ball ground was not close to the square but at some distance from it. He stated that the clans ranked thus: Deer, Aktayatci, Panther, Bird, Bear, Wind, Alligator. There was only one individual of the Wind clan and there were but few of the Bird, Bear, and Alligator.

The Hilibi square is given in Figure 59. Anciently there were eight posts to the bed instead of six. When I first visited the Hilibi square the north bed had not been built; it was put up last. The old men who sing for the women during their dance sit at the west

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end of the Raccoon's section of the south bed. In taking medicine the west bed goes first, then the south, and then the east, but some men in the back part of all the beds go last of all. The accompanying plan (fig. 60) is from data collected by the writer in the winter of 1912 before the north bed was erected.

There were some eight camps about this ground. It was too new to have developed a tádjo of any size, but that of the ground occupied immediately before this was about 220 paces in circuit. If a tcokofa were to be erected it would be toward the east. Plate 4, *b*, shows the Chiefs' bed in 1912.

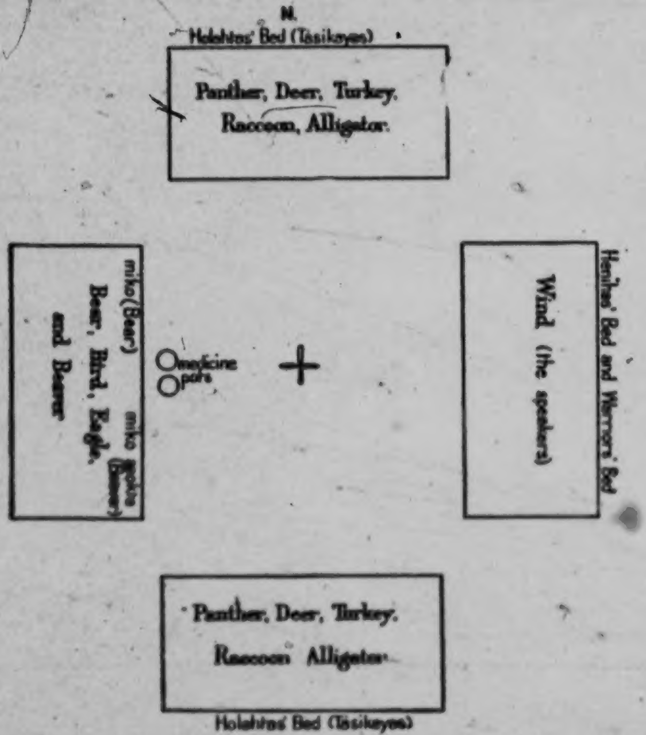
N.
Holahtas' Bed (Tásikayas)
Panther, Deer, Turkey,
Raccoon, Alligator.
miko (Bear)
Bear, Bird, Eagle,
and Beaver
miko apokta (Beaver)
medicine pots
Wind (the speakers)
Henihas' Bed and Warriors' Bed
Panther, Deer, Turkey,
Raccoon Alligator
Holahtas' Bed (Tásikayas)

FIG. 60.—Plan of the Tuskekanfka Square Ground

Figure 61 represents the Eufaula (or Upper Eufaula) square as it is supposed to have appeared anciently, my authority being Jackson Lewis.

Figure 62 shows the actual arrangement in modern times as explained by the hilis-haya.

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There were said to be only seven Tâmi and three Turkey people in this town. The imalas should be of the Raccoon clan but there never were any in Eufaula, according to the second informant. He probably meant that there had been none there within his recollection. The Hathagâlgi included the Wind, Bear, Bird, Turkey, and Tâmi. There is one of the isti âtcagâgi belonging to the Bear clan in the north bed, one belonging to the Deer clan in the east bed, and one belonging to the Aktayatci in the south bed. These men give new names to boys. A different authority from any of the above stated that the Eufaula chief was anciently taken from the Eagle clan. This might well have been, since the Eagle was reckoned a branch of the Raccoon which, as appears from these plans, sat in the bed of the chiefs. The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 63) represents it as it existed in 1912.

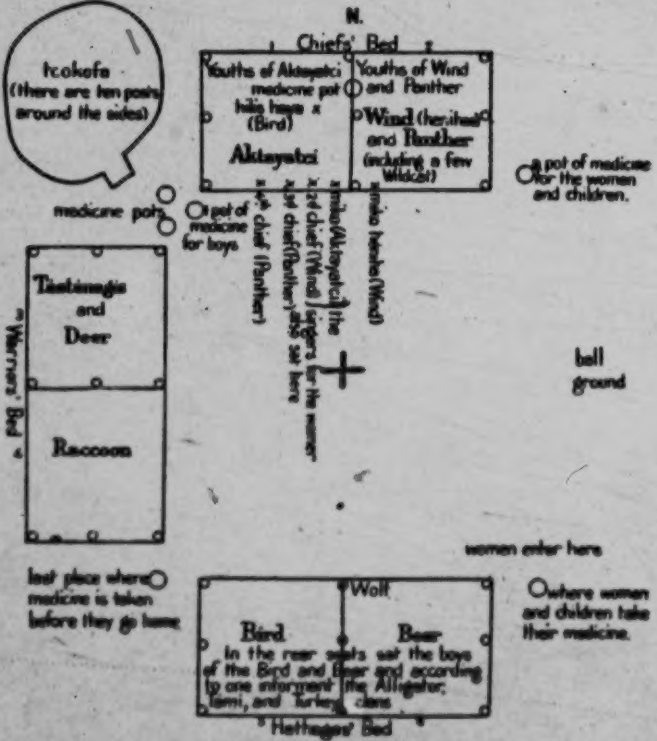
N.
Chiefs' Bed
1
2
Tcokofa (there are ten posts around the sides)
Youths of Aktayatci
medicine pot
hilis haya x (Bird)
Aktayatci
Youths of Wind and Panther
Wind (heniha) and Panther (including a few Wildcat)
a pot of medicine for the women and children.
medicine pots
pot of medicine for boys
1st chief (Panther)
2d chief (Panther)
3d chief (Wind)
imala (Aktayatci)
the singers for the warriors also sit here
imala lako (Wind)
ball ground
3
Warriors' Bed
4
Tastanagis and Deer
Raccoon
women enter here
last place where medicine is taken before they go home
where women and children take their medicine.
Wolf
Bird
Bear
In the rear seats sat the boys of the Bird and Bear and according to one informant the Alligator, Tami, and Turkey clans
Hathagas' Bed

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (I)

Plate 3, *a*, gives a general view of the ground, looking from the southwest, and Plate 4, *c*, is a nearer view of the small house in which the implements used in the annual ceremony were stored.

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a. Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabahchee Busk Ground near Melette, Okla.

b. The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912, looking northwest

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c. The Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole in 1912, looking northeast

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[facing p. 224]

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Figures 64–66 illustrate three descriptions of the Alabama square ground. There were no isti âtcagâgi, the tâstânâgis taking their places. The medicine pots were kept outside of the grounds; ten different medicines were put into one of them.

The accompanying outline of the Alabama busk ground (fig. 67) was made from data collected in 1912.

In Plate 5, *b*, the Alabama square is shown looking from the southeast.

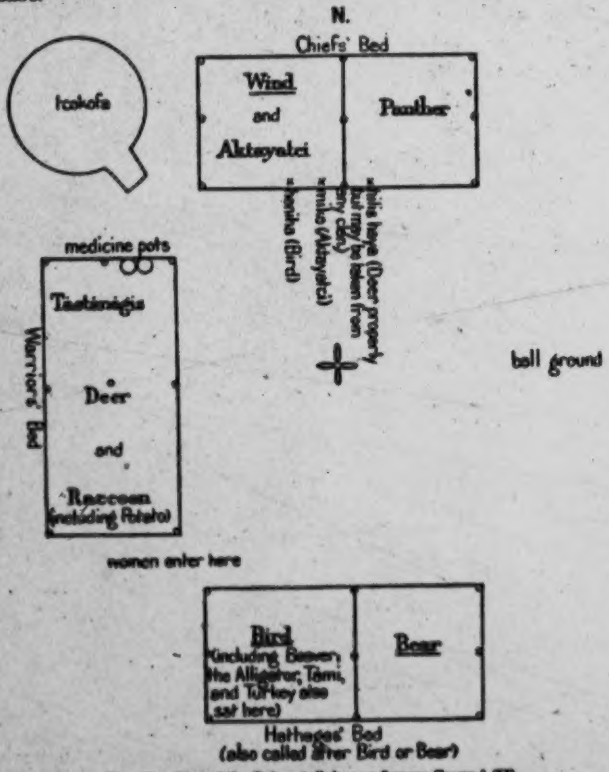
N.
Chiefs' Bed
tcokofa
Wind
and
Aktayatci
Panther
medicine pots
Tastanagis
Warriors' Bed
Deer
and
Raccoon
(including Potato)
Shoriha (Bird)
Kmiko (Aktayatci)
Yahis haya (Deer property but may be taken from any clan)
ball ground
women enter here
Bird
(including Beaver, the Alligator, Tami, and Turkey also sat here)
Bear
Hathagas' Bed
(also called after Bird or Bear)

FIG. 67.—Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (II)

Figures 68–71 show the Kasihta square on the authority of Hawkins, Gatschet, and two of my own informants. Gatschet's informant was probably the Kasihta chief, Ispahihtca. In the origin legend which Ispahihtca related to Doctor Gatschet he calls the west bed Mikâlgi intcuka, Chiefs' House, the east bed Hoktâgi intcuka, Women's House, and the north bed Tâstânâgâlgi intcuka, Warriors' House. Those who sat in the south bed he calls Hâtki iputcasi, "the owners of the white."[40]

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[40] See p. 59.

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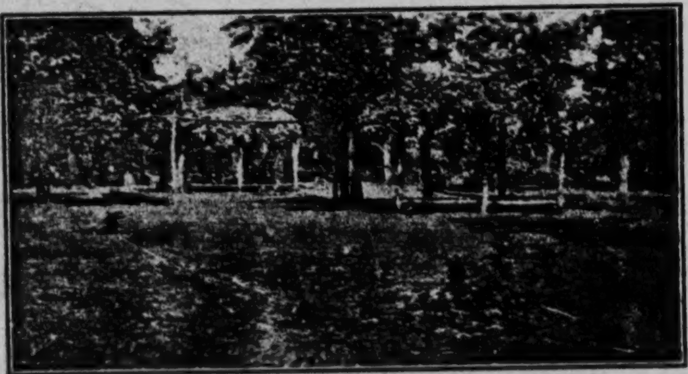
a. Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabahchee Busk Ground near Melette, Okla.



b. The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912, looking northwest

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c. The Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole in 1912, looking northeast

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[facing p. 225]

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The seat of the hilis-haya was not fixed; he sat with his clan. The two bearers of the medicine belonged to the Alligator clan. The official called halisi tástánâgi made arrangements for the ball games.

The plan of Okmulgee (fig. 72) is from information furnished by Judge James R. Gregory. He added that there were two rows of seats in each bed. Legus Perryman remembered some facts regarding this town which agree for the most part with those here given. He thought, however, that there were only three beds, and that the ball ground was to the northwest. The speechmaker (yatika ?), a man of the Aktayatci clan called Woksi miko, sat at the northwest corner of the south bed.

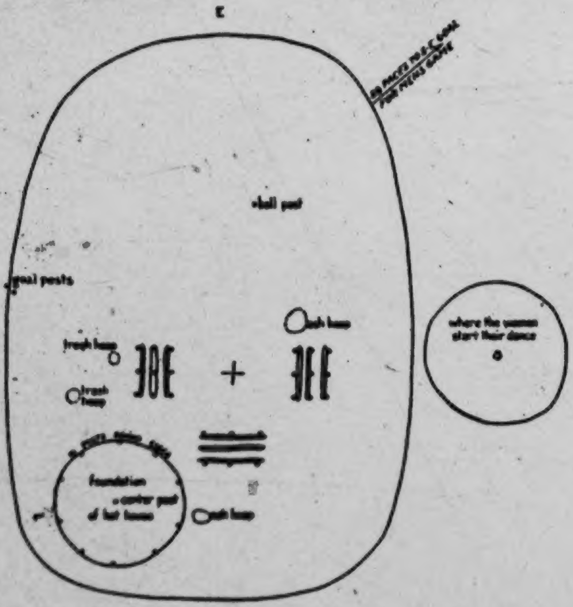

FIG. 71.—Pakan tallahassee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figure 73 gives the oldest remembered organization of Apalachicola. My informant, one of the oldest women of this town, added that the Alligator and Beaver shifted about somewhat from one bed to another, while individuals made imalas or tástánâgis moved into the Warriors' bed if they were not already there. She asserted that this was the "original foundation" (or plan) of Hitchiti, Sawokli, and the Lower Creek Hâtci tcâbâ, as well as of Apalachicola.

In Figure 74 appears the last organization of this town.

Figure 75 is Hitchiti. In an emergency the Deer heniha could be made miko and the Bird miko heniha. This was the last Hitchiti

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Muskogee
Yuchi

NN20

square, and the plan was furnished to the Indians by my oftmentioned informant Jackson Lewis. The Deer and Bird clans were actually mixed together considerably, although the theoretical arrangement was as above. There were no women's dances on this particular ground. One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja; the other wīlānā (wormseed) and "oktcun utcka," the last perhaps a Hitchiti term. The pots were not removed from the place indicated, though one might have been heated there. The tästänägis and imalas were used instead of isti ätcagägi.

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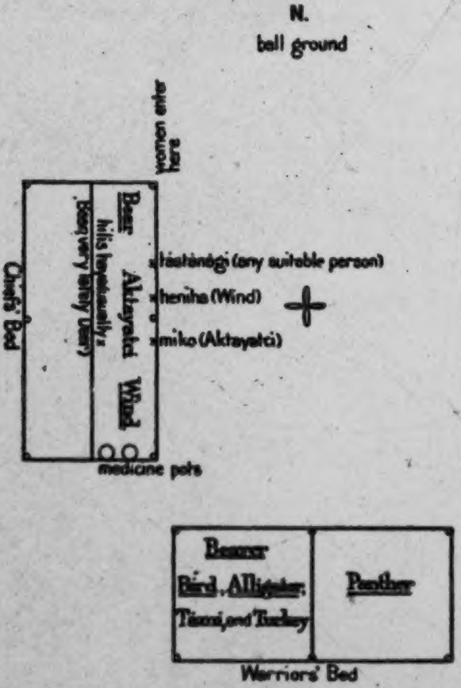
N.
ball ground
women enter here
Bear Aktayatci Wind
hilis haya (usually a Bear, very rarely Deer)
Chiefs' Bed
tästänägi (any suitable person)
heniha (Wind)
miko (Aktayatci)
medicine pots
Raccoons' Bed or Youths' Bed
Raccoon, Potato (if any) and Youths
Beaver
Bird, Alligator,
Täsni, and Turkey
Panther
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 29.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (I)

Figure 76 gives the Yuchi ground as described by Dr. Frank G. Speck.

The information which I myself obtained agreed in almost every particular with that of Doctor Speck. Seats passed from father to son and in consequence the clans were mixed up in these beds indiscriminately. My informant added that the bearers of the medicine sat at the south end of the west bed, and that on the ball post were two cow skulls at different heights, the lower as a target for the women. He said that if there was no person in the west bed fitted to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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000 to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

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621 Figures 77 and 78 give plans of Coweta, the second in this case probably representing the older organization. The main outlines of the first were confirmed by another old man. He added that two of the medicine bearers were selected from the Hathagas and two from the Tcilokis; they were usually two Bears and two Panthers. That the Panther was an important clan in this town is vouched for by another informant, who declared it was the "leading clan." To it, it may be remarked, the late Creek chief, G. W. Grayson, belonged.

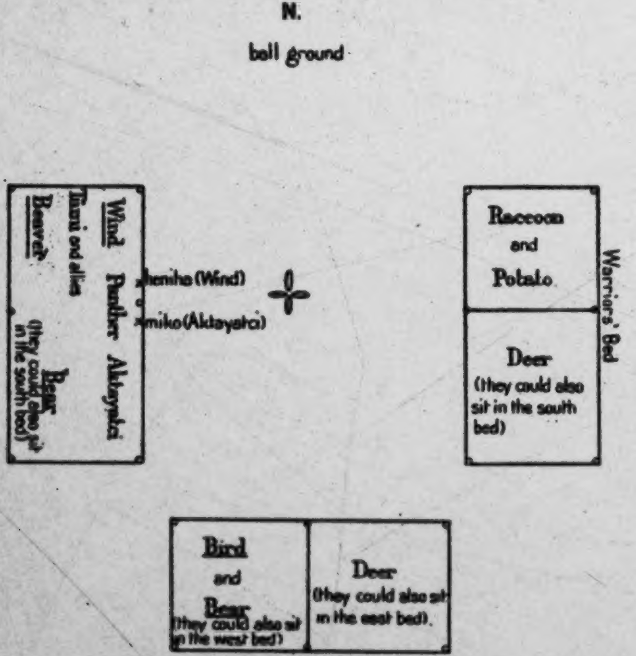
N.
ball ground
Wind Panther Aktayatci
Tinui and allis
Beaver
Bear
(they could also sit in the south bed)
heniha (Wind)
miko (Aktayatci)
Raccoon
and
Potato
Warriors' Bed
Deer
(they could also sit in the south bed)
Bird
and
Bear
(they could also sit in the west bed)
Deer
(they could also sit in the east bed).

FIG. [illegible].—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (II).

According to the Indian through whom I obtained the second plan the duty of the Holahta was to see that the bearers prepared and distributed the medicines.

The leader of the henihas was known as the Heniha láko. The three officials in the north bed attended to the medicines and other matters connected with the square. When visitors came they went over to the beds occupied by their respective clans and left the north bed vacant for the strangers. One of the two pots of medicine was warmed, the other cold. The former contained both pasa and miko hoyanídja, the other only pasa.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll
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Hitchiti

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In one place Milfort gives a description of a square which he represents as that in which the great assemblies of the nation were held, and this would probably be Coweta or Tukabahchee, but from the context it would appear rather to have been the former. What he has to say concerns the grand council of the nation more than the town council of Coweta and it will be inserted when we come to speak of that.[6] It is of interest to know, however, that the cabins on the west, north, and south were painted red, indicating a Red town like Coweta and Tukabahchee. That on the east was painted white, which seems rather surprising if my first informant is right in stating that it was occupied by the tástánágis. Milfort, however, gives this as the cabin of the old men, and it is possible that it was set aside for the isti átcagági, particularly since we know that some of the functions of these officials were later taken over by the tástánágis. Milfort appears to locate the tcokofa just where my informant indicated that it should be.

The square ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow is given in Figure 79. The hilis-haya was chosen from the Wind clan and his tenure was for life. The medicine was carried around by three persons, one of whom was chosen from each of the beds, omitting that on the east. There were officials named Holahta and Táski heniha like those in Coweta. In practice games of ball the Bear and Deer took opposite sides and the others joined one or the other of these clans as they chose. Probably this was a very late arrangement.

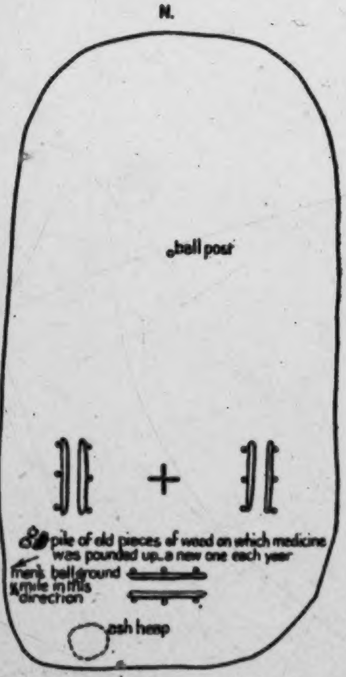
N.
ball post
pile of old pieces of wood on which medicine was pounded up..a new one each year
men's ballground ½ mile in this direction
ash heap

FIG. 81.—Wiogufki Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figures 80 and 81 show the Square of Eufaula Hobayi (Lower Eufaula). This town branched out from the town of that name above given. It is said that the Wind clan and those who sat in the north bed were considered the same as tástánágis.

The older plan of Chiaha is given in Figure 82. According to another informant "old Chiaha was just like Coweta." It had a tcokofa before the removal west but not afterwards. The Deer clan was classed as Hathaga because it was considered almost the same as the Bird.

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[6] See pp. 311-313.

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Figure 83 is from a description by Ellis Childers, who explained that the town organization as he gave it was the last and was made when a man of the Bird clan named Pibi'ska was miko, although later the miko was taken from the Wind clan as here shown. The reorganization was effected under the direction of Ayima'ha, an Osochi born in Alabama. At that time at least a part of the Osochi busked with the Chiaha, though the towns had separate officials. There was some controversy over the right of the Bird clan to a position in the west bed, but Ayima'ha ruled that it should sit there, and he also placed the Skunk and Fish there. All of the clans in the north bed are said to be henihas except perhaps the Deer. Anciently this town had the same three officials as those who sat in the north bed of Coweta, but on the reorganization they were dropped. The holahta is said to have made arrangements for ball games, and he and the táski heniha together took up a challenge to play (apai'hkita).

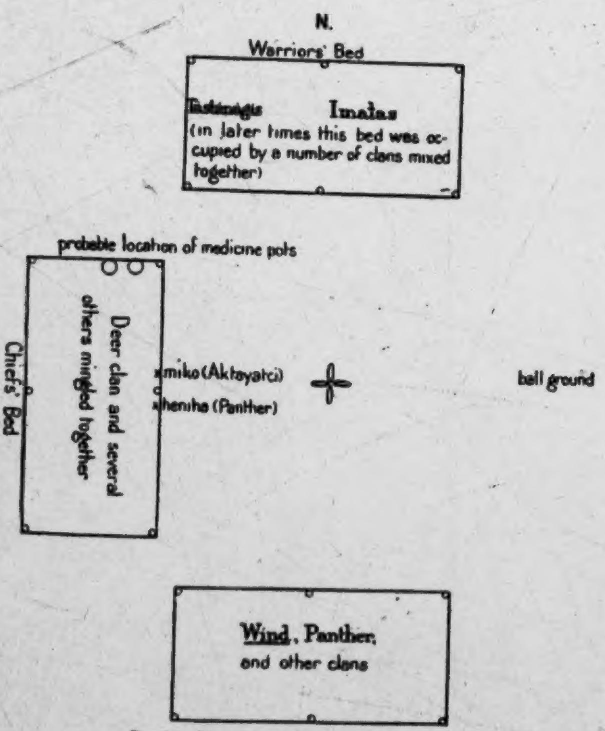
N.
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis
Imalas
(in later times this bed was occupied by a number of clans mixed together)
probable location of medicine pots
Chiefs' Bed
Deer clan and several others mingled together
miko (Aktayatci)
heniha (Panther)
ball ground
Wind, Panther, and other clans

FIG. 83.—Plan of the Tukpafka Square Ground

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Osochi

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In its main outlines this arrangement was confirmed by another informant. However, he stated that the miko and his heniha were both of the Bear clan, that the young boys were in the north bed, that the various clans were mixed together in the south and west beds, that the women entered at the southwest corner instead of the southeast, and that there was a shelter over the fire. The first of these statements may be explained only by supposing that this man meant the yatika or miko apokta instead of the heniha or that the organization was broken down.

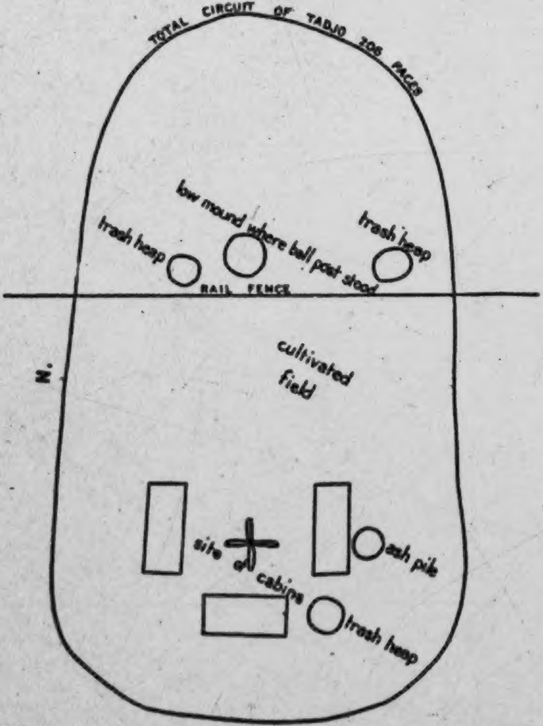
TOTAL CIRCUIT OF TADJO 206 PACES
low mound where ball post stood
trash heap
trash heap
RAIL FENCE
N.
cultivated field
site of cabins
ash pile
trash heap

FIG. 83.—The old Tukpafka Ceremonial Ground as it appeared in 1912

Figure 84 gives what was probably the older organization of Osochi. There were also some representatives of the Beaver clan in this town but my informant did not know where they sat, and he was unable to tell which clans were reckoned as Hathagas and which as Tcilokis.

The plan given in Figure 85 shows the arrangement of the square ground before it was moved from the Verdigris. The clans were scattered through the various beds, the latter not being divided

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi; Alabama
Seminole NN16

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into sections, but my informant affirmed that the Wind and Deer "always went together," which would be in line with the classification of the Deer as a Hathaga clan at Chiaha.

We now come to the Seminole squares.

Ochesee Seminole, a square which has now been given up, is shown in Figure 86. There was formerly a tcokofa, but my informant had forgotten its location. Most of the warriors were in the north bed, and the hilis-haya sat with his own clan. The ashes were not removed from the center of the ground as was customary in the Creek squares.

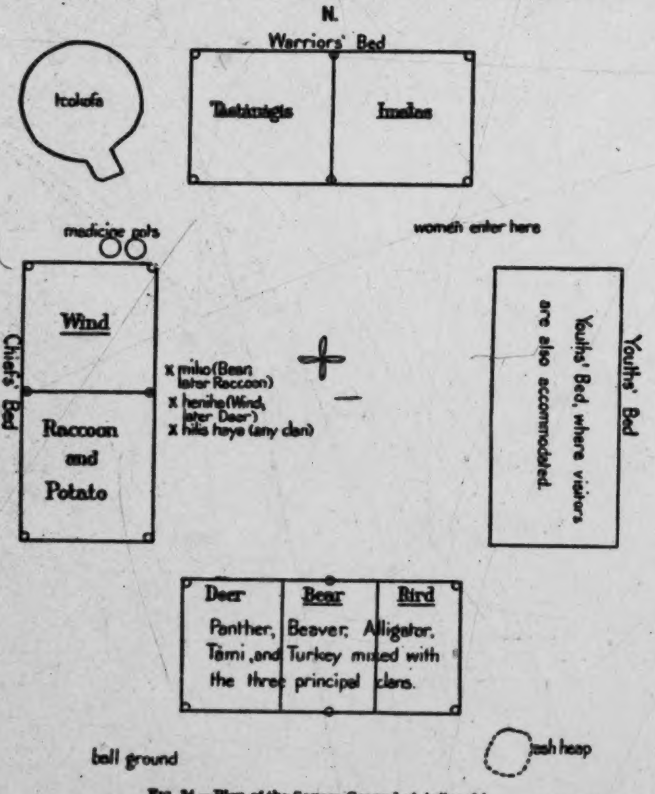
N.
Warriors' Bed
tcokofa
Tastanagis
Imalas
medicine pots
women enter here
Wind
Chiefs' Bed
x miko (Bear, later Raccoon)
x henihe (Wind, later Deer)
x hilis haya (any clan)
Raccoon and Potato
Youths' Bed
Youths' Bed, where visitors are also accommodated.
Deer
Bear
Bird
Panther, Tāmi, and the three
Beaver, Turkey mixed with principal
Alligator, clans.
ball ground
ash heap

FIG. 84.—Plan of the Square Ground of Asilanabi

Figure 87 is Okfuskee Seminole. The ball ground was located wherever it was most convenient, and the women danced into the square from any corner.

Figure 88 is a plan of the square made in 1912.

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNl Alabama Seminole NN16

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The next plan (fig. 89) is of Tallahasutci. On the death of the miko the miko apokta took his place and a new miko apokta was appointed from the clan of the former miko.

The data for the accompanying sketch of this square (fig. 90) was obtained in the winter of 1911–12.

Figure 91 represents the square of Hitchiti Seminole, now abandoned. My informants stated that Toad and Tcokote were two names for one and the same clan. They added that the name of

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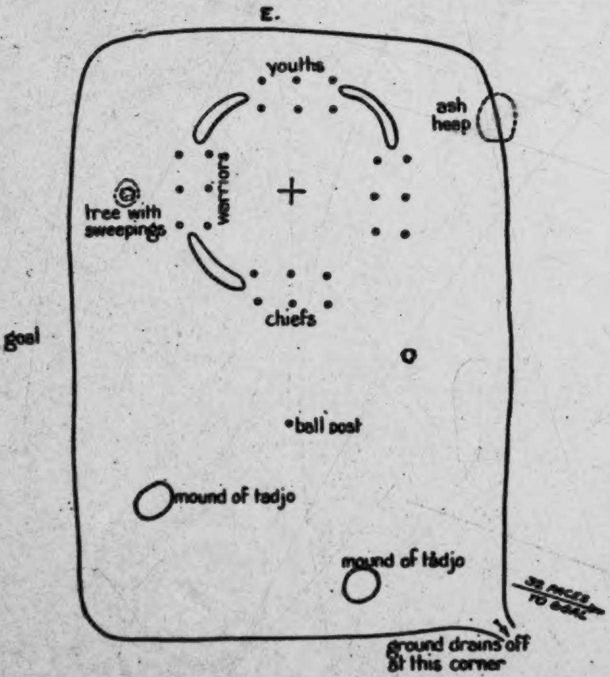
E.
youths
ash heap
warriors
tree with sweepings
chiefs
goal
ball post
mound of tadjo
mound of tadjo
32 PACES TO GOAL
ground drains off at this corner

FIG. 90.—The Asilanabi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

the last miko of this town was Nokobági, and the name of his heniha Holahtági.

Figure 92 is Eufaula Seminole. The clans are not kept separate in the different beds. There were a few people of the Bird clan and one man belonging to the Bear who sat wherever they chose. There was also one of the Pahosa who sat with the Deer clan. There were no Beaver. It is said that the Wind clan is the only one which retains the taboo against endogamous marriages, but in the ball games each clan still hangs together. The distinction between the Hathagas and Tcilokis is no longer remembered.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Seminole NN16

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The accompanying sketch of the square ground (fig. 93) was made in 1912.

Figures 94 and 95 give Łiwahali Seminole. This square ground is said to be kept up merely for the medicine. The leaders were from Łiwahali, but the bulk of the people are said to have been drawn from the Upper Creek towns of Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki which migrated into Florida practically entire.

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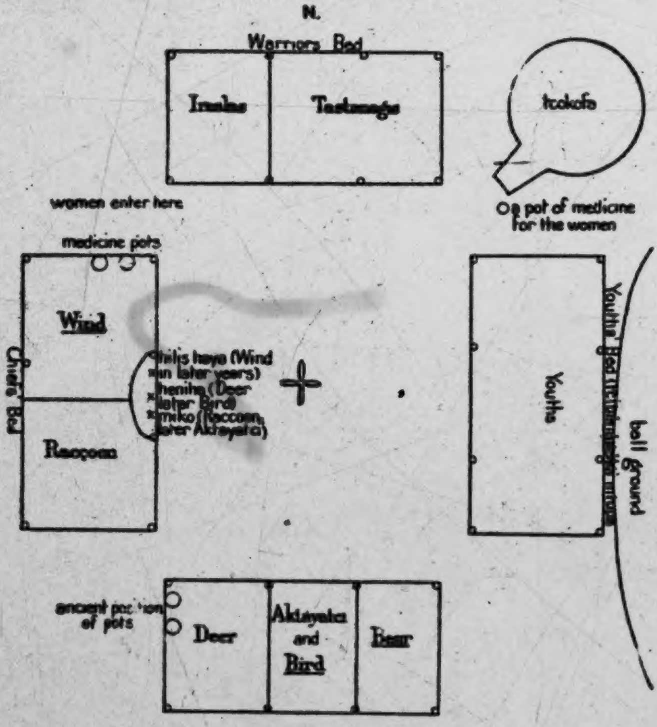
N.
Warriors Bed
Imalas
Tastanagis
tcokofa
pot of medicine for the women
women enter here
medicine pots
Wind
Chiefs Bed
Raccoon
hilis haya (Wind in later years)
heniha (Deer later Bird)
miko (Raccoon, later Aktayatci)
Youths
Youths' Bed
ball ground
ancient position of pots
Deer
Aktayatci and Bird
Bear

FIG. 93.—Plan of the Okchai Square Ground

Accompanying is a sketch of the Łiwahali ground (fig. 96), the data for which was obtained in 1912.

Plate 5, *c*, is a view of this ground taken from the west side and looking northeast.

Figure 97 shows Chiaha Seminole. The officials given in the plan had served in their several capacities for a very long time. The present (1912) hilis-haya sits with the rest of his clan, the Potato, in the north bed. At the corners of the square logs were laid down for the accommodation of the women.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek
Seminole N.N16

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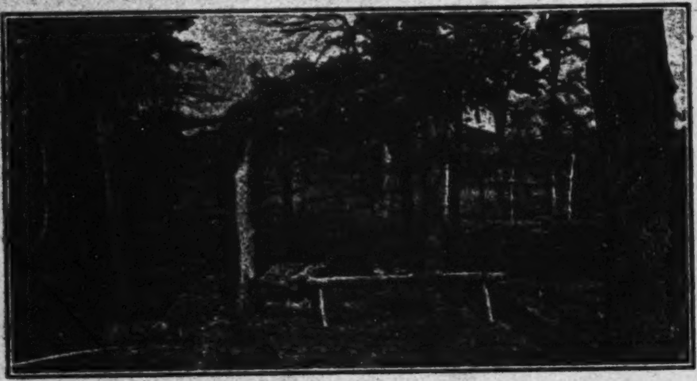
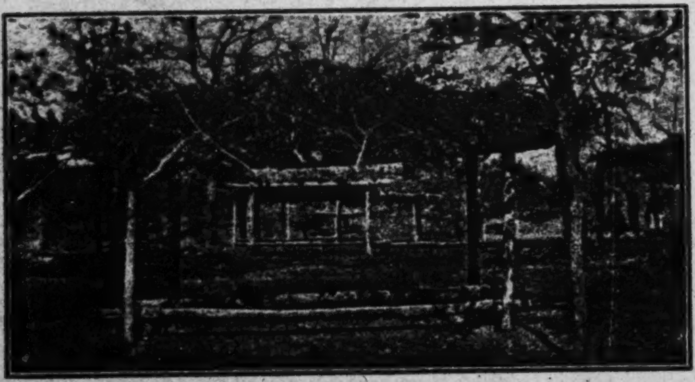


a. The Chiefs' Bed, looking north



b. A view through the Square, looking north

c. Camp sites near the Square

THE CEREMONIAL GROUND OF CHIAHA SEMINOLE

[facing p. 234]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Seminole NN16

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Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

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Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the past, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

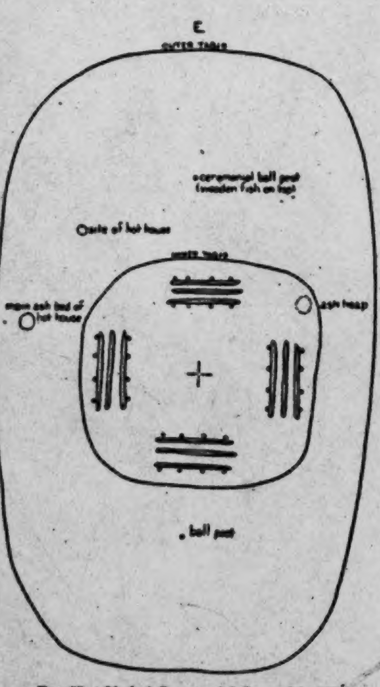

FIG. 97.—Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.[6] Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.[7] He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,[8] and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

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[6] See p. [illegible].

[7] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 15.

[8] Ibid., p. 184.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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a. A Seminole home in Oklahoma

C.
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796

b. Conjuring the medicine before a ball game

c. Ball players taking the medicine

CREEK CEREMONIALS

[facing p. 235]

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raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must [555] also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, etc. . . .

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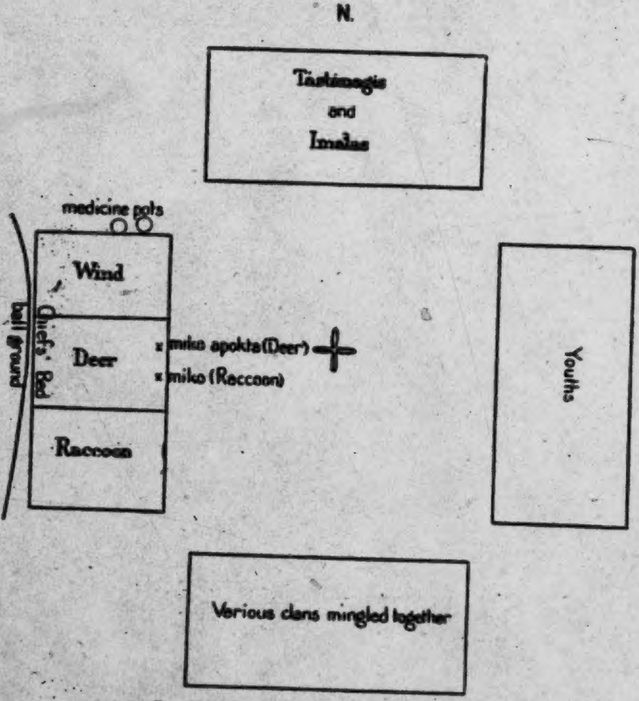
N.
Tastanagis and Imalas
medicine pots
Wind
Deer
Raccoon
ball ground
Chiefs' Bed
x miko apokta (Deer)
x miko (Raccoon)
Youths
Various clans mingled together

FIG. 28.—Plan of the Łálogálga Square Ground

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

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[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 30-31.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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We will now summarize the seatings of each clan:

Clan	Chiefs' bed	Henihas' bed	Warriors' bed	Youths' bed
Wind	22	20	4	1
Bear	30	11	8	1
Bird	22	12	6	1
Beaver	17	10	5	1
Alligator	11	18	5	5
Deer	10	11	15	3
Panther	10	12	16	3
Raccoon	13	8	11	1
Aktayatci	8	18	8	2
Snake	1	6	1	--------
Potato	9	9	8	4
Tâmi	2	10	3	4
Turkey	1	4	3	3
Pahosa	1	2	2	2
Kapitca	2	4	4	--------
Wildcat	3	2	3	1
Wolf	3	2	3	1
Mole	1	2	--------	--------
Skunk	2	2	--------	--------
Fox	2	3	2	1
Eagle	1	2	--------	1
Woksi	--------	1	--------	--------
Tcowasta	--------	--------	1	--------
Fish	2	1	--------	--------
Toad	--------	1	1	--------
Otter	1	1	--------	--------
Tcokote	--------	1	--------	--------
Reed (Cane)	--------	--------	1	--------
Lidjami	--------	--------	1	--------

The distribution of the smaller clans in the above table agrees very well with that of the larger ones with which they are linked. The principal discrepancies are due to the fact that when the chief was selected from a certain clan that clan moved over in a body into the Chief's bed, and therefore in some cases, in the Raccoon group for instance, the leading clan appears to have been seated in the Chief's bed many more times proportionately than most of the other clans of the phratry.

Turning to the nine first clans, which are representative of the leading Creek phratries, we find that the White clans are found oftenest in the Chief's bed, and next in frequency in the bed of the Henihas, while comparatively seldom are they seated in the beds of the Warriors or Youths. It is to be observed that both the Chiefs' bed and that of the Henihas are frequently spoken of as "White beds," but the former is occupied by White clans more often than the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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latter. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great reduction in numbers which the towns have suffered and the practical abandonment of the Youths' bed, making it necessary to find seats for all of the clans in the three remaining beds. The Warriors' bed, too, does not appear to have been occupied anciently by clans as such, except perhaps the rear rows. In front were the tåstånågålgi and imałålgi, who originally owed their positions to exploits in war and were drawn from various clans. In later times these dignities became to a certain extent hereditary, associated with certain clans, and the bed was occupied by clans in the same way as the other beds. It may be said, speaking generally, that the clan of the chief sat in the Chiefs' bed, and when a chief was selected from a new clan that clan moved over into that bed. There are a few cases to the contrary but this is what usually took place. The natural position of a clan is therefore best determined by studying its position when the chief belonged to some other clan. Bearing this in mind an inspection of the arrangement of the square grounds shows plainly that the proper position of the White clans is usually held to be in the beds of the Chiefs and the Henihas. And it is worthy of remark that most of those towns in which these clans appear in the Warriors' bed were of the Hitchiti group, indicating that a somewhat different arrangement obtained there. The Beaver clan is usually identified with, and seated with, the Bird everywhere except in Otciapofa and the Tulsa towns where it was generally the clan of the chief. The Alligator and Aktayatci occur more often in the Henihas' bed than anywhere else. The former is sometimes White, which perhaps accounts in part for its presence here and in the Chiefs' bed; the Aktayatci, however, is always Tciloki and is so much associated with war that the clan is considered—probably as a later development—identical with the tåstånågålgi, in Łikatcka and Lutcapoga. This accounts f[illegible] some

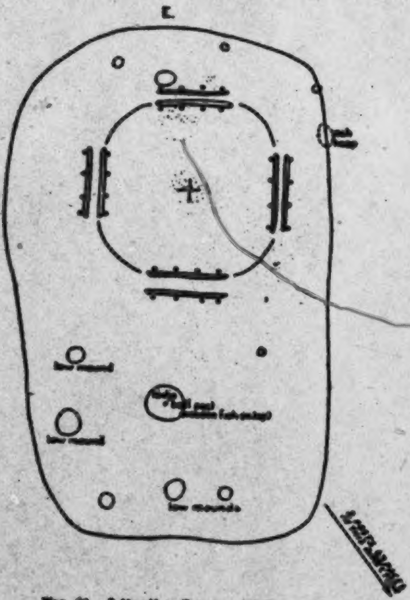

FIG. 22.—Łalogålga Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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of the times when it appears in the Warriors' bed. It appears in the Chiefs' bed several times because the chiefs of the Eufaula towns, Hilibi, Wiogufki, and perhaps Pakan tallahassee, were taken from it.

The Alligator also appears many times in the Chiefs' bed. It is to be noted that when the Aktayatci were chiefs the Alligator were frequently henihas, and in consequence were sometimes taken into the Chiefs' bed. The Alligator were also henihas in Kasihta and were there taken into the Chiefs' bed for the same reason. In some other towns they were partly in the Chiefs' bed and partly in that of the Henihas. The Raccoon clan is the only Tciloki clan found more often in the Chiefs' bed than in any other. This position it occupies in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, the Okchai towns, Upper Eufaula, two Seminole towns, Koasati, two Abihka towns, and, according to two informants, in Chiaha and Osochi. Its position in the last two was probably due to the fact that it is identified with the Potato and Fox, to which the town chiefs there belonged. The others are all Upper Creek towns, constituting two geographical groups, the Abihka and the towns on Tallapoosa River. These Raccoon people are

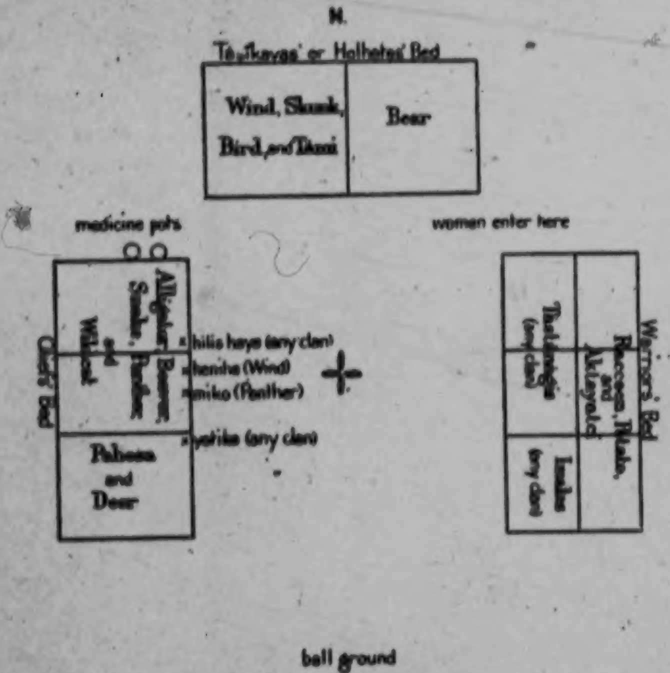
N.
Ta'skayas' or Holhetas' Bed
Wind, Skunk, Bird, and Tami
Bear
medicine pots
women enter here
Chiefs' Bed
Alligator, Snake, and Wildcat
Raccoon, Panther
Pahosa and Deer
hilis haya (any clan)
heniha (Wind)
miko (Panther)
yatika (any clan)
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon, Hilibi, and Aktayatci
Tastanagis (any clan)
Imalas (any clan)
ball ground

FIG. 48.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (I)

. Muskogee

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found more often in the Warriors' bed than in that of the Henihas or Youths, and that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clan is Red. In one or two cases it is said that the Raccoon clan were the tástánágis. They were in the Warriors' bed particularly in the Abihka and Tulsa towns. The only clans found oftener in the Warriors' bed than in any other are the Deer and Panther, rather singular companions one would think, but perhaps explacable on psychological grounds already given,[10] although it is more likely that the association has a

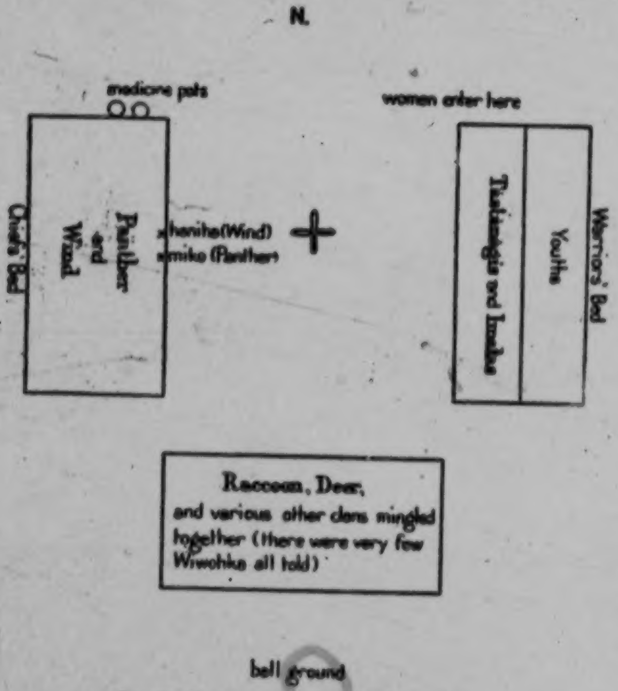
N.
medicine pots
women enter here
Chiefs' Bed
Panther and Wind
henihe (Wind)
miko (Panther)
Tastanagis and Imalas
Youths
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon, Deer, and various other clans mingled together (there were very few Wiwohka all told)
ball ground

Fig. 41.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II)

historic basis now long forgotten. As in other cases the Panther and Deer sometimes furnish chiefs or henihas and are consequently found in the Chiefs' bed. They occur in the Henihas' bed more often. In the Okfuskee towns they are squeezed into the Youths' bed, owing to the large size of the White clans. In the Abihka towns, where the Warriors' bed is to the east, the Deer are uniformly placed there, while the Panther appear in the Henihas' bed. In Pakan tallahassee the Deer are again in the Warriors' bed and are specifically called tástánágalgi, while the Panther is taken into the

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[10] See p. 169.

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Chiefs' bed. In the Okchai towns, Tukpafka, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Koasati, Kealedji, and Hilibi these clans are found, however, either in the Chiefs' bed or in the bed of the Henihas. Often they are separated and sometimes one is placed in the Youths' bed. The separation occurs more often, however, when the Deer is placed in the Chiefs' bed, the Panther being in the Henihas' bed. The Deer are said to have been taken into the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee because they formed "a choice clan." In Seminole towns the Panther and Deer are almost always placed in the bed of the Warriors.

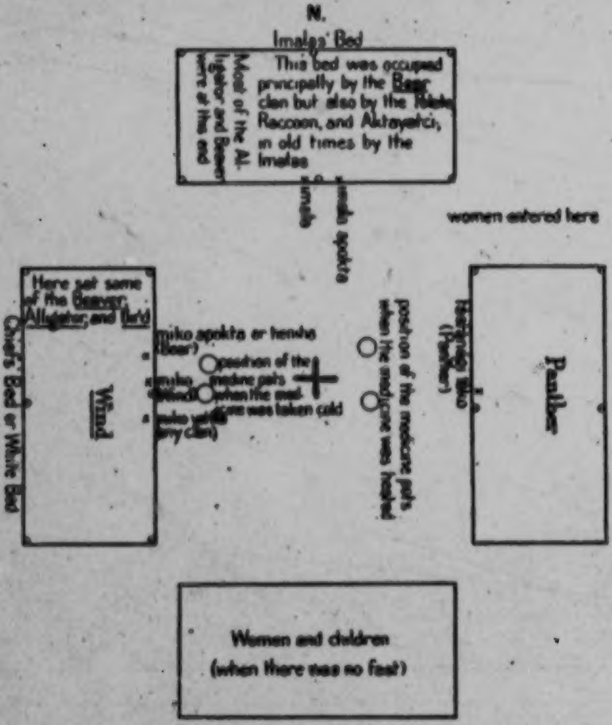
N.
Imalas' Bed
This bed was occupied principally by the Bear clan but also by the Wind, Raccoon, and Aktayatci, in old times by the Imalas
Most of the Alligator and Beaver were at this end
imala
imala apokta
women entered here
Here sat some of the Beaver, Alligator, and Bird
Chief's Bed or White bed
Wind
miko apokta or heniha (Bear)
position of the medicine pots when the medicine was taken cold
(any clan)
position of the medicine pots when the medicine was heated
(Panther)
Panther
Women and children (when there was no feast)

Fig. 62.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (1)

The important points regarding the nine leading clans brought out by this table are that the White clans—Wind, Bear, Bird, and Beaver—were seated most often in the Chiefs' bed and next to that most frequently in the bed of the Henihas; the Raccoon clan was seated oftenest in the Chiefs' bed and next to that in the Warriors bed; the Alligator and Aktayatci clans were seated most often in the Henihas' bed; and the Panther and Deer clans most often in the Warriors' bed.

Tuskegee

THE TOWN

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Although the word tálwa is employed rather loosely for both a town and a tribe, its proper signification seems to have been rather tribal, a town or city in our sense of the term, a center of population, being indicated by the word talofa. A tálwa appears to have consisted of a body of people who had their own square ground and actually formed a little state. In later times many such tálwa were formed by segmentation and they were closely related, but the farther back we go the more distinct do the differences between the various tálwa appear to be. These tálwa might, of course, consist of a number of distinct villages, but, except that they were usually composed of knots of clan relatives, no permanence and no particular coherence attached to these latter.

[314]

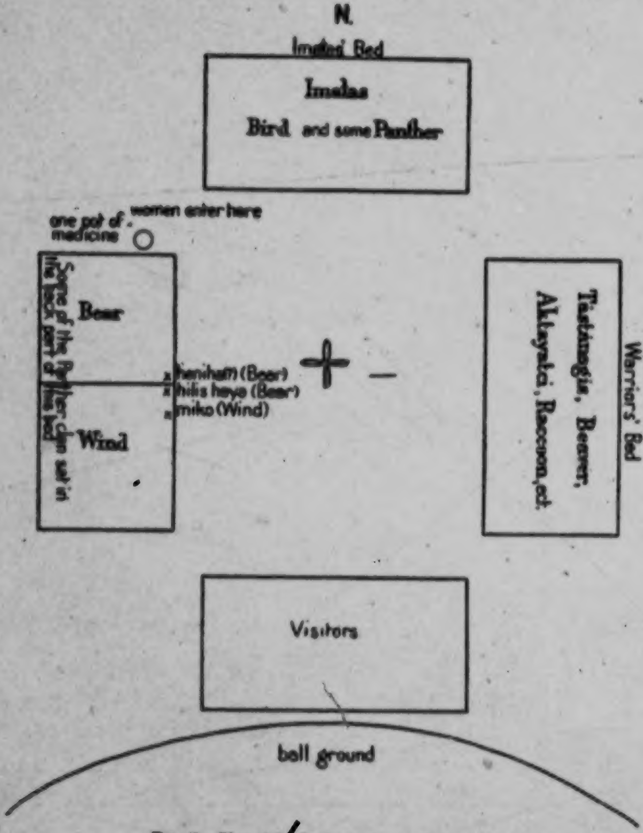
N.
Imalas' Bed
Imalas
Bird and some Panther
one pot of medicine
women enter here
Some of the Panther clan sat in the back part of this bed
Bear
Wind
x henihalti (Bear)
x hilis haya (Bear)
x miko (Wind)
+
–
Tastinagis, Beaver, Alkayalci, Raccoon, etc.
Warriors' Bed
Visitors
ball ground

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)

Alabama

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532

[623]

According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each tàlwa, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the miko's seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the four front posts of the miko's bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Koasati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the miko's bed in the Koasati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

[344]

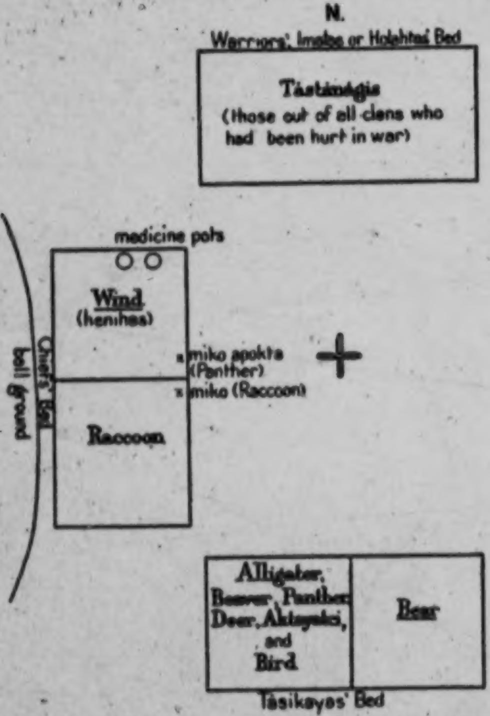
N.
Warriors', Imalas or Holahtas Bed
Tàstànàgis
(those out of all clans who had been hurt in war)
medicine pots
Wind
(henihas)
x miko apokta (Panther)
x miko (Raccoon)
Chiefs' Bed
ball ground
Raccoon
Alligator, Beaver, Panther, Deer, Aktayaki, and Bird
Bear
Tàsikayas' Bed

FIG. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2

This is both interesting and important, and it is in line with what we know regarding the tribes living along both the lower and the upper courses of the Mississippi River. At the same time I have so far been unable to obtain confirmation of this from other Creeks. Of course, Bartram tells us that in his day the posts of the Chiefs' bed at Atasi were carved to resemble snakes, but this can not be accepted as confirmatory evidence because Judge Gregory was perfectly familiar with the writings of Bartram and other early authors. The Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas claimed some particular right to the garfish, but I have not secured sufficient evidence regarding this to be sure of the nature of their claim. On a previous page I have had occasion to note that the Indians of the Fish Pond towns place wooden fish at the tops of their ball posts, but according to their own explanation this mark is merely suggested to them by the town name. The Eufaula Indians have a wooden eagle in the same place, but they say that this is because the eagle is emblematic of the United States. The other towns all use skulls of horses or cows, which are said to be without significance of any kind.

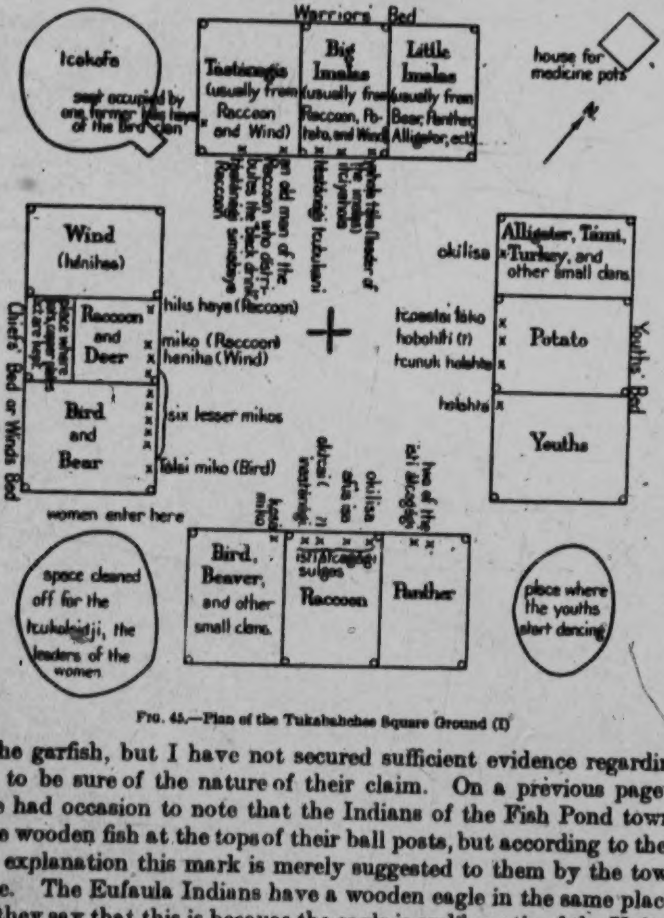
Warriors' Bed
Icokofa
seat occupied by one former hilis haya of the Bird clan
Tastanagis (usually from Raccoon and Wind)
Big Imalas (usually from Raccoon, Potato, and Wind)
Little Imalas (usually from Bear, Panther, Alligator, etc.)
house for medicine pots
an old man of the Raccoon who distributes the black drink
tastanagi tcukulani
Wind (hániha)
Chiefs' Bed or Wind's Bed
Raccoon and Deer
hilis haya (Raccoon)
miko (Raccoon)
heniha (Wind)
Bird and Bear
six lesser mikos
Talsi miko (Bird)
women enter here
okilisa
Alligator, Taimi, Turkey, and other small clans
Potato
Youths' Bed
tcoastai fako
hobohifi (?)
tcunuk holahta
holahta
Youths
okilisa
space cleaned off for the tcukolaitji, the leaders of the women
Bird, Beaver, and other small clans
Raccoon
Panther
place where the youths start dancing

FIG. 45.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (I)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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In line with the wooden eagle of Coweta mentioned by Judge Gregory is the wooden statue of a human being which Adair informs us existed in his day in "the head war town of the upper Muskohge country." Tukabahchee is the head war town of the Upper Creeks to-day, but in Adair's time it may have been Łiwahali or Atasi. Adair's words are as follows:

"There is a carved human statue of wood, to which, however, they pay no religious homage. It belongs to the head war town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed

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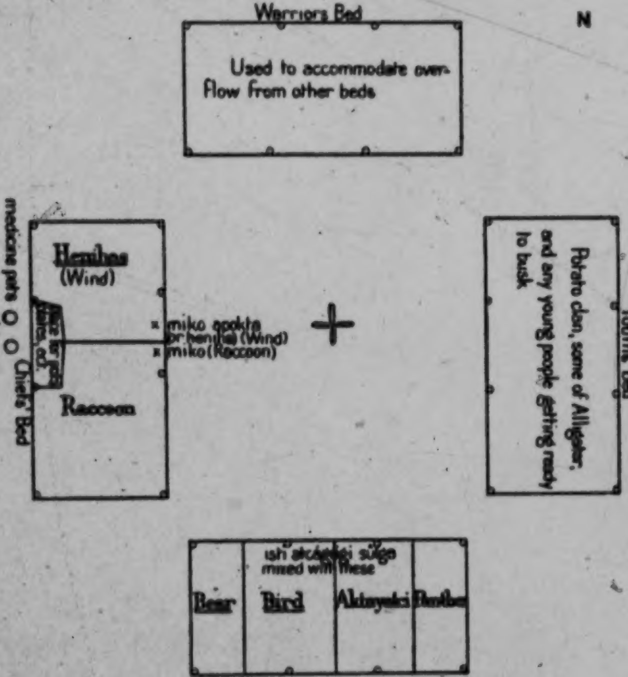

Warriors Bed
N
Used to accommodate over-flow from other beds
medicine pots
Hemihes (Wind)
Chiefs' Bed
miko apokta or heniha (Wind)
miko (Raccoon)
Raccoon
Youths' Bed
Potato clan, some of Alligator, and any young people getting ready to busk
ish [illegible] sulga mixed with these
Bear
Bird
Aktayaki
[illegible]

FIG. 46.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (II)

to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero, who deserved well of his country; for, when their *cusseena*, or bitter, black drink is about to be drank in the synhedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his coadjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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532
view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist."[11]

[302] According to some informants the people of each tálwa formerly had distinctive face paintings, and there were men in every town particularly skilled in applying these. The design for Tuskegee was as shown in the cut (fig. 102).

[344]

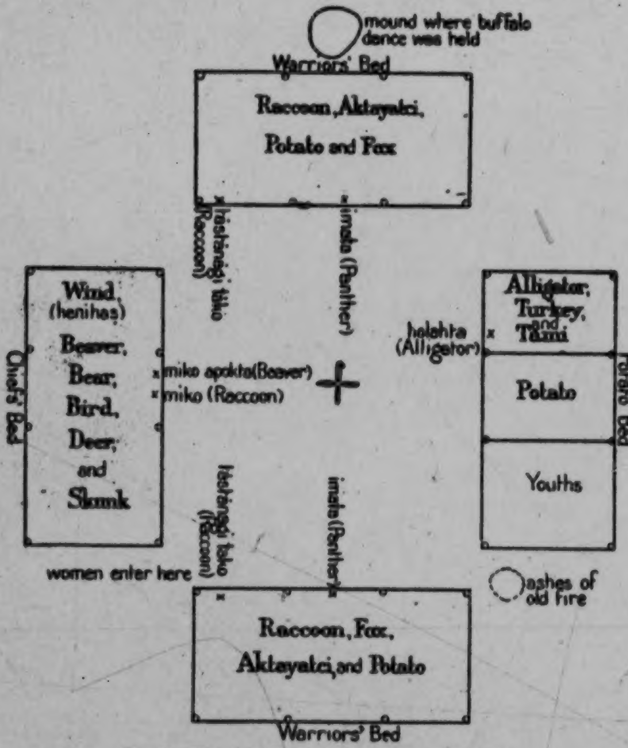
mound where buffalo dance was held
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon, Aktayatci, Potato and Fox
tastanagi tako (Raccoon)
imala (Panther)
Wind (henihas) Beaver, Bear, Bird, Deer, and Skunk
Chiefs' Bed
miko apokta (Beaver)
miko (Raccoon)
holahta (Alligator)
Alligator, Turkey, and Tämi
Potato
Youths
Potato Bed
tastanagi tako (Raccoon)
imala (Panther)
women enter here
ashes of old fire
Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, and Potato
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (III)

621 A word may be quoted from Stiggins regarding the feeling of unity which subsisted within each town.

"The towns people were frequently assembled at their town house or square in order to keep them united, for the harmony subsisting among the people of a town is noted and seems to be cemented by an affection as strong towards each other as the sons of Jacob of old in their association. As the usages and customs of every town are similar and the men all know the unity and sympathy of a town

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[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

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people, the men of one town will approach another town with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated, and as such is their practice in this their more enlightened time, their approaches toward each other's towns and towards strangers must have been with extreme timidity and caution in their natural and more savage state." [13]

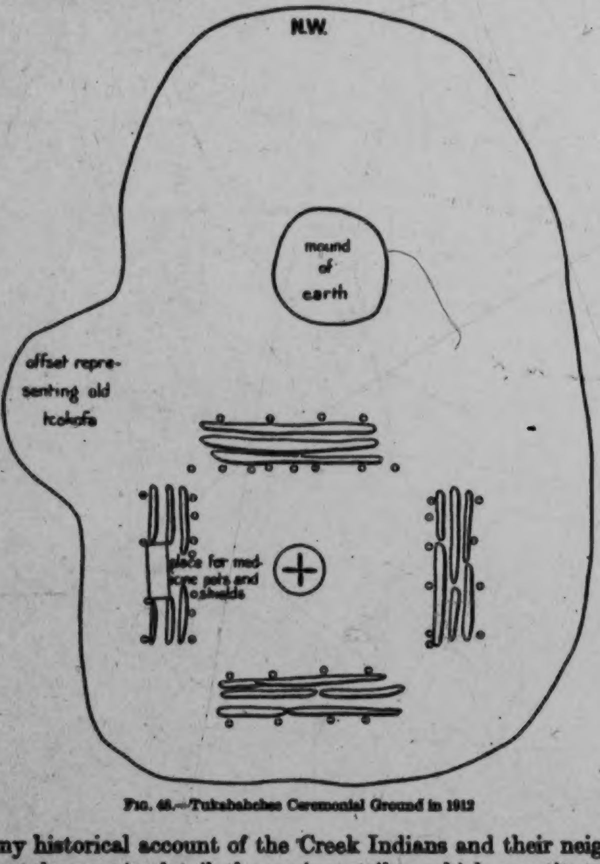
N.W.
mound of earth
offset representing old tcokofa
place for medicine pots and shields

FIG. 48.—Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

In my historical account of the Creek Indians and their neighbors I have taken up in detail the various tribes which constituted the confederacy and the position occupied by each.[13a] It will not be necessary to go over this ground again, except to insert a classification of the tálwa which of itself will serve to recapitulate the points there brought out.

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[13] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 19.

[13a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

Muskogee

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621

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NATURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CREEK TOWNS

Muskogee tribes: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa (including (a) the Tulsa group and (b) the Okfuskee group), Abihka, Holiwahali (or Liwahali), Hilibi, Eufaula, Wakokai, several Muskogee tribes whose connection with the rest is uncertain, including Atasi, Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Fushatchee, Wiwohka, Kealedji, and tribes such as the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee, which seem not to have been constituted parts of the original body.

Atcik hata (Hitchiti speaking tribes): Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Tamali, Chiaha.

Alabama.

Muklasa.

Koasati.

Tuskegee.

Yuchi.

Natchez.

Shawnee.

Tribes of uncertain connection: Osochi.

To these might almost be added the Chickasaw, since one band of Chickasaw lived with the Creeks for several years and they were all held to be of one fire with the Kasihta. According to the traditions given above the Kasihta and Coweta resulted from the segmentation of one original body, and it is probable that these and the next five towns in the above list were the original Muskogee speaking peoples in the confederacy. It seems likely that the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee were Muskogee in language but were late in uniting with the others. The Koasati were closely related by language with the Alabama, as was probably the case

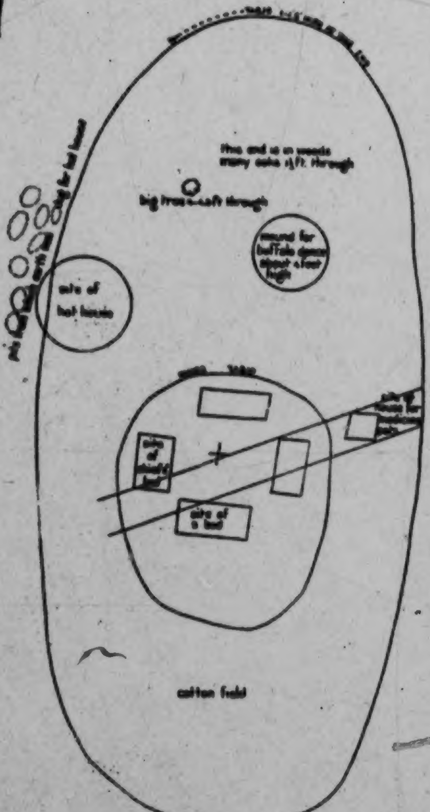

FIG. 69.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Melette, Okla., as it appeared in 1912-14

Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13] 101 621

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace, 621 616 619 [344]

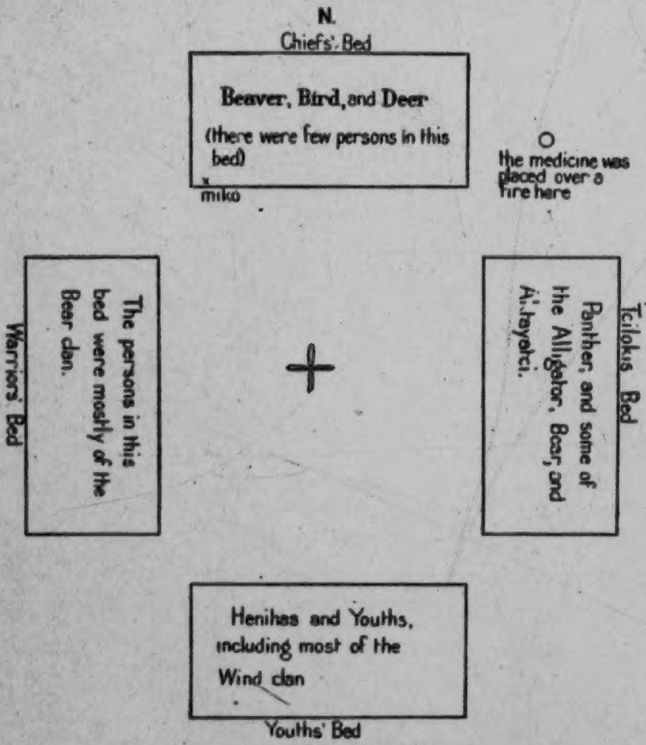
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver, Bird, and Deer
(there were few persons in this bed)
miko
the medicine was placed over a fire here
Warriors' Bed
The persons in this bed were mostly of the Bear clan.
Tcilokıs Bed
Panther, and some of the Alligator, Bear, and Ai'ɫayalci.
Henihas and Youths, including most of the Wind clan
Youths' Bed

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to [614] 621 619 177

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[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 156-157.

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177
[609]

one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[18] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

[344]

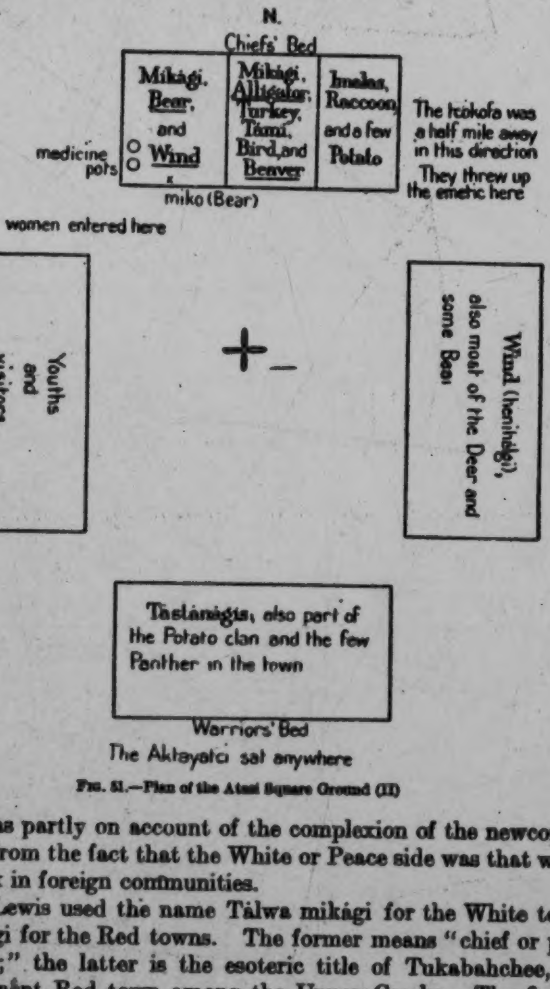
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Mikagi, Bear, and Wind
Mikagi, Alligator, Turkey, Támi, Bird, and Beaver
Imalas, Raccoon, and a few Potato
medicine pots
miko (Bear)
The Itcokofa was a half mile away in this direction
They threw up the emetic here
women entered here
Youths and visitors
Wind (henihalgi), also most of the Deer and some Bear
Tastanagis, also part of the Potato clan and the few Panther in the town
Warriors' Bed
The Aktayatci sat anywhere

FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

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Jackson Lewis used the name Tálwa mikági for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

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[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 229.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan 621
of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head 619
chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan
to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which
Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also,
in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfuskee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

[344]

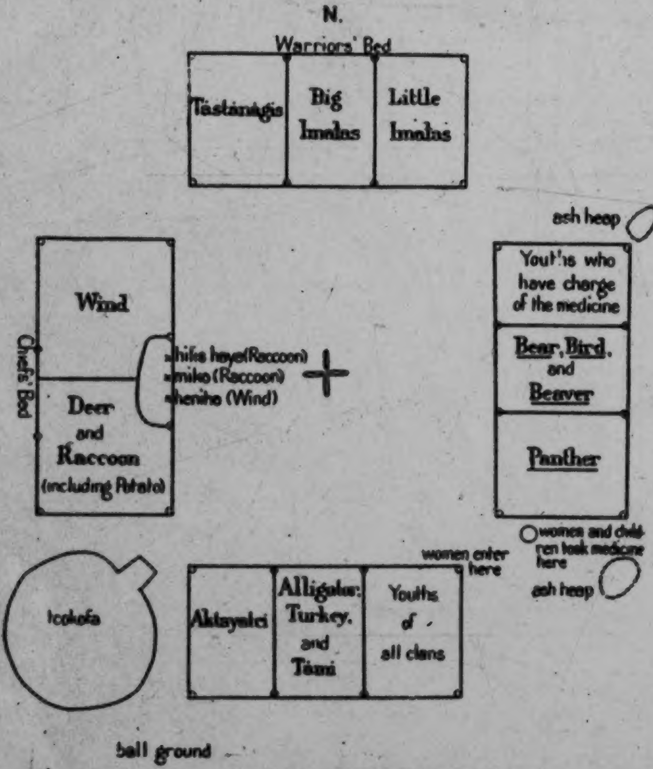
N.
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
ash heap
Youths who have charge of the medicine
Bear, Bird, and Beaver
Panther
Wind
Chiefs' Bed
Deer and Raccoon (including Potato)
hilis haya(Raccoon)
miko (Raccoon)
heniha (Wind)
women and children took medicine here
women enter here
ash heap
Tcokofa
Aktayatci
Alligator, Turkey, and Tâmi
Youths of all clans
ball ground

FIG. 52.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (I)

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered 609
into against each other and their antithetical peace and war func- 619
tions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other 621
was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

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621

was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent. Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

[344]

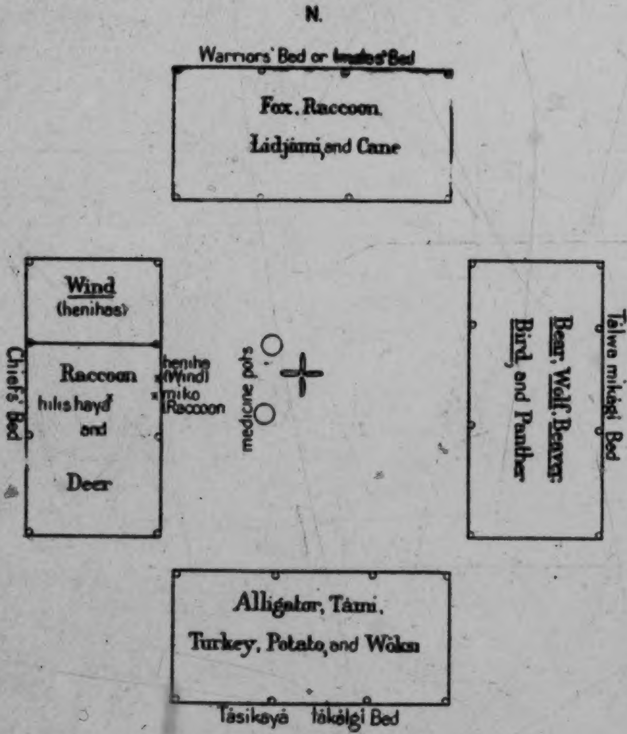
N.
Warriors' Bed or [illegible] Bed
Fox, Raccoon, Lidjami, and Cane
Wind (henihas)
Raccoon hilis hayá and Deer
Chiefs' Bed
henihe (Wind)
miko (Raccoon)
medicine pots
Bear, Wolf, Beaver, Bird, and Panther
Tålwe mikålgi Bed
Alligator, Tami, Turkey, Potato, and Wōkα
Tåsikayå låkålgi Bed

FIG. 52.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

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Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bartram,[17] and Adair[18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

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[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 387.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 158.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

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778

[822]

[344]

event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[18a] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed emblem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly."[19]

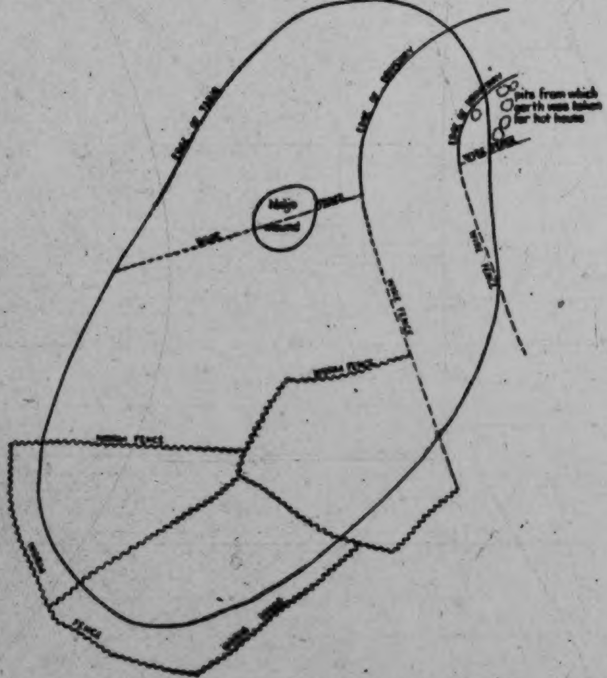

FIG. 34.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[18a] Bartram, Travels, pp. [illegible].

[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

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[526]

The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

[314]

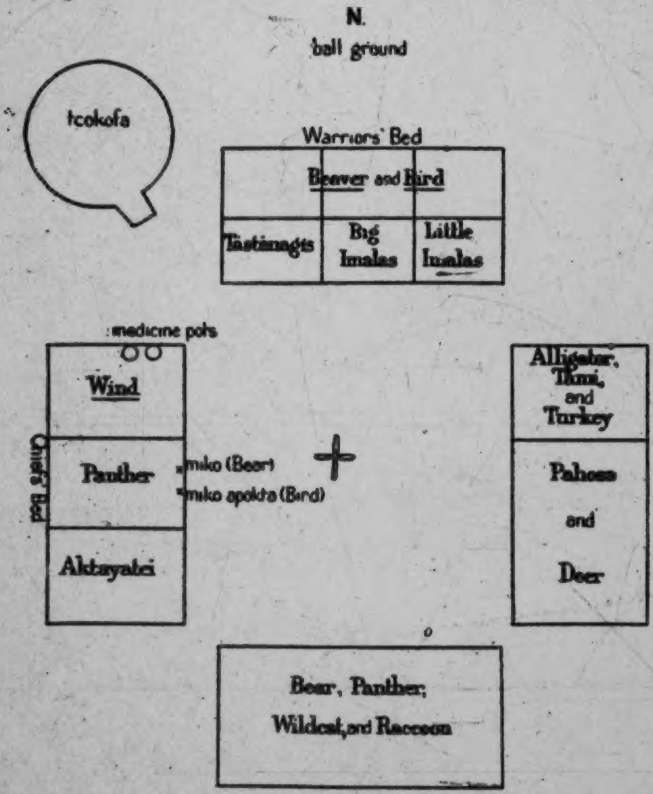
N.
ball ground
tcokofa
Warriors' Bed
Beaver and Bird
Tästänagis
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
medicine pots
Wind
Chief's Bed
Panther
miko (Bear)
miko apokta (Bird)
Aktayatci
Alligator, Tämi, and Turkey
Pahosa and Deer
Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Raccoon

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łaplako Square Ground (I)

619
101

Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.
Apalachicola.
Hitchiti.
Sawokli.
Okmulgee.
Kawaigi.
Okitiyagana.
Yuchi.[39]
Coosa.
Otciapofa.
Tulsa Little River.
Tulsa Canadian.
Lutcapoga.
Okfuskee.
Tcatoksofka.
Abihkutci.
Nuyaka.
Abihka.
Abihka-in-the-West.
Talladega.
Kan-tcati.
Wakokai.
Wiogufki.
Tukpafka.
Wiwohka.
Pakan tallahassee.
Okchai.
Łalogalga.
Asilanabi.
Koasati (1 and 2).
Tuskegee.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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101

RED

Cowota.
Likatcka.
Chiaha.[29]
Osochi.
Hotalgihuyana.
Eufaula.
Eufaula Hobayi.
Tukabahchee.
Kealedji.
Hatchee tcaba.
Atasi.
Holiwahali.
Łapłako.
Hilibi.
Kitcopataki.
Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Talmutcasi.
Alabama.

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621

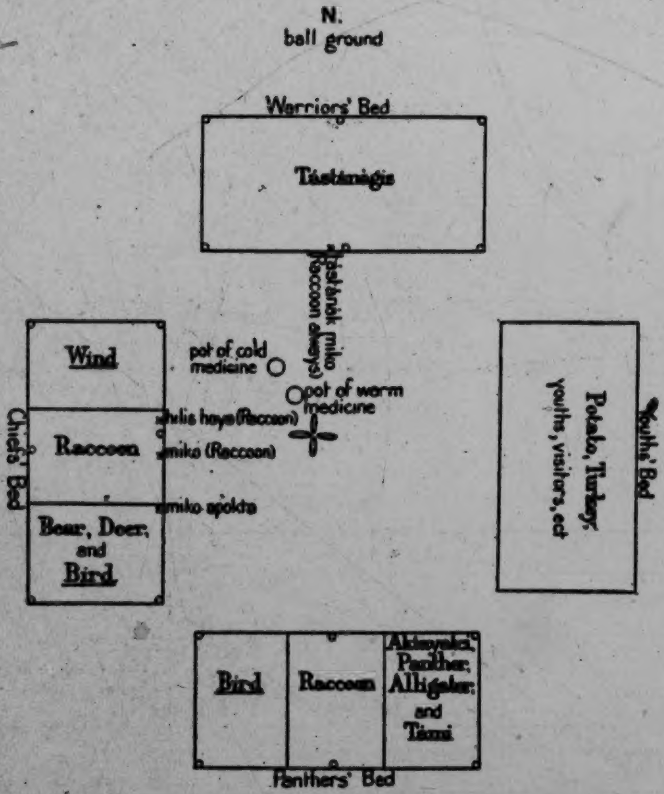
N.
ball ground
Warriors' Bed
Tástănăgis
tástănák miko (Raccoon always)
pot of cold medicine
pot of warm medicine
Wind
Raccoon
Bear, Deer, and Bird
Chiefs' Bed
hĭlis haya (Raccoon)
miko (Raccoon)
miko apokta
Potato, Turkey, youths, visitors, etc
Youths' Bed
Bird
Raccoon
Akbayaki, Panther, Alligator, and Tămi
Panthers' Bed

FIG. 56.—Plan of the Łapłako Square Ground (II)

619

This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Koasati was a Red town, a conclusion which may have been deduced from the fact that in recent years the related Alabama town was on the Red side. From the evidence which I collected, however, it would seem that it is Alabama which has changed, and that only in late times owing to some difference with the Okchai Indians with whom the Alabama people had formerly been allied. Jackson Lewis in fact placed Alabama on the White side, but on the other hand he thought that Wiogufki and Tukpafka were Red.[11] Such a classification of these last two towns was concurred in by some other informants, and Eufaula hadjo told me that Wiogufki had formerly been Red and had become a White town very recently. As Tukpafka was a branch, or at any rate a coordinate part, of Wiogufki, it was probably classed with it. This shift was perhaps responsible for the confusion regarding Wiogufki in the mind of one old man who said that he believed Wiogufki played on both sides. Eufaula hadjo's statement was, however, confirmed by Big Jack of Hilibi who affirmed that at one time Wiogufki, Tukpafka, Wakokai, Sakapadai, Talmutcasi, and Pakan tallahassee were of the same fire clan as Coweta and Łaplåko but had gotten changed. I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this in so far as it applies to the last two towns. Possibly the social and political upheavals which accompanied the Civil War may have been responsible for some of the confusion. One of my best informants among the Okchai Indians thought that Wiogufki was really a White town, but that it probably had some agreement with Hilibi and Eufaula that, as good friends and neighbors, they would never play against each other. While Eufaula hadjo and Big Jack are probably right this is interesting as showing that agreements of the sort were not unknown, or at least not inconceivable. I am inclined to think that Talmutcasi was originally White, because it seems to have been a branch of the well-known White town of Okfuskee. An old Coweta Indian stated that some of the Abihka Indians were claimed by Coweta and some by Kasihta, but this confusion, as in the case of Wiwohka, was very likely due to marriages outside. The standing of Abihka on the White side was not questioned by anyone else.

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[29] The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Taitt who mentions a ball game May 8, 1772, in which the former defeated the latter (Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p [illegible]).

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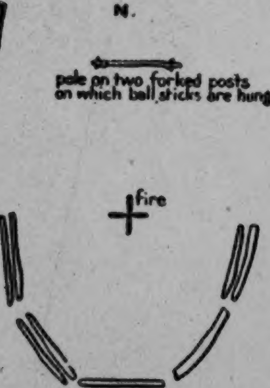

FIG. 57.—The Łaplåko "rallying ground" used before ball games, as it appeared in 1912

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[11] The original position of Alabama as a White town is also indicated by what Bossu says regarding it: "The Alibamons have called their country the white ground, or country of peace, and rest on their mats, that is to say attack no one. A kind of allegory through which they seem to announce to all the nations of the earth, that the bloody hatchet is buried, and people can come and trade in all safety."—Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 47.

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Muskogee
Seminole NN16

C.
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According to Silas Jefferson the Chiaha were the chief opponents of the Tuskegee after they had removed to Oklahoma, but the latter played frequently with the Wiwohka, and sometimes with the Hilibi, and, in the old country, against the Alabama. The Hitchiti and Apalachicola were usually matched against the Atasi.

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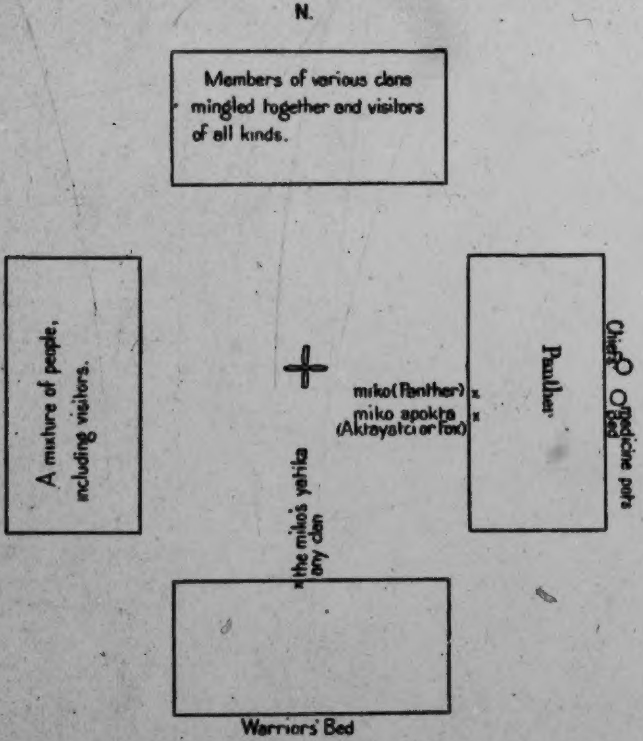
N.
Members of various clans mingled together and visitors of all kinds.
A mixture of people, including visitors.
miko (Panther)
miko apokta (Aktayatci or fox)
Panther
Chief
Medicine pots
Bed
the mikos yatika any clan
Warriors' Bed

Fig. 52.—Plan of the Liwahali Square Ground

S.
619
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The corresponding division among the Seminole in Oklahoma is said to have been as follows:

White	Red
Okfuskee	Eufaula.
Tallahasutci	Liwahali (including the Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki).
Ochesee	Chiaha.
Hitchiti	Mikasuki.

This agrees perfectly with the alignment among the Creeks if, as I now suspect, the Mikasuki were a branch of the Chiaha Indians instead of the Hitchiti proper.

Muskogee

619 [177 648]

At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opilłáko, and Łálogálga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

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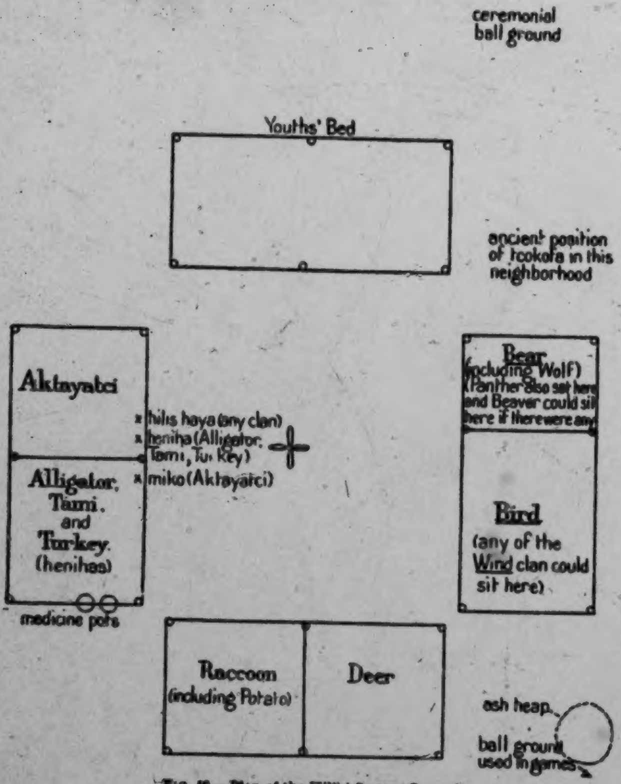
ceremonial ball ground
Youths' Bed
ancient position of tcokofa in this neighborhood
Aktayatci
× hilis haya (any clan)
× heniha (Alligator, Tami, Turkey)
× miko (Aktayatci)
Alligator, Tami, and Turkey (henihas)
medicine pots
Bear (including Wolf) (Panther also sat here and Beaver could sit here if there were any)
Bird (any of the Wind clan could sit here)
Raccoon (including Potato)
Deer
ash heap
ball ground used in games

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Holiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

9. Okchaiyutci, Koasati, Kan-tcati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga.

Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potcas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opillåko in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."[23] In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

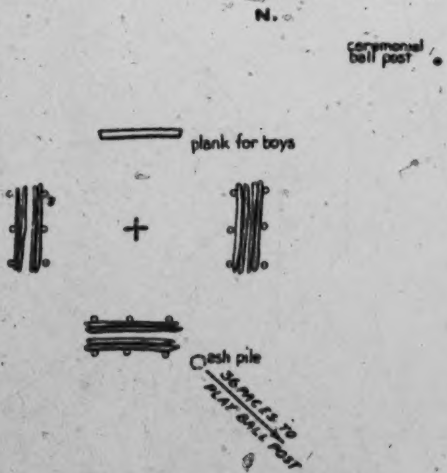

Fig. 60.—Hilibi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Evolution of the Creek Confederacy

Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts.

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[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 282.

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Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names

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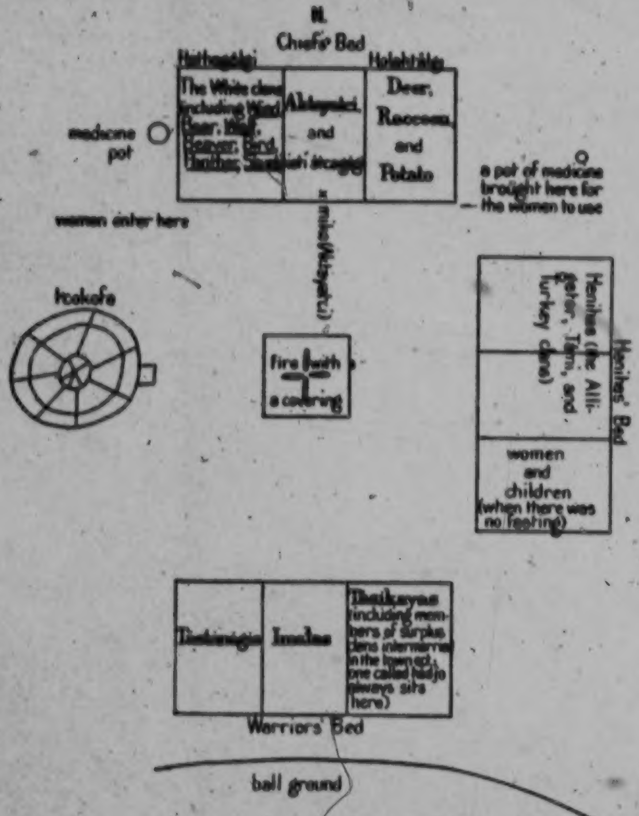
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Hitthogalgi
Holahtalgi
The White clans including Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Skunk
Alabapaki, and Ispani'ôcagi
Deer, Raccoon, and Potato
medicine pot
a pot of medicine brought here for the women to use
women enter here
Tcokofa
mike (Atâsyahi)
fire (with a covering)
Henihas (the Alligator, Turn, and turkey clans)
Henihas' Bed
women and children (when there was no feasting)
Tastanagalgi
Imalas
Ihaikayas (including members of surplus clans intermarried in the town etc., one called hadjo always sits here)
Warriors' Bed
ball ground

Fig. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)

of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe; that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

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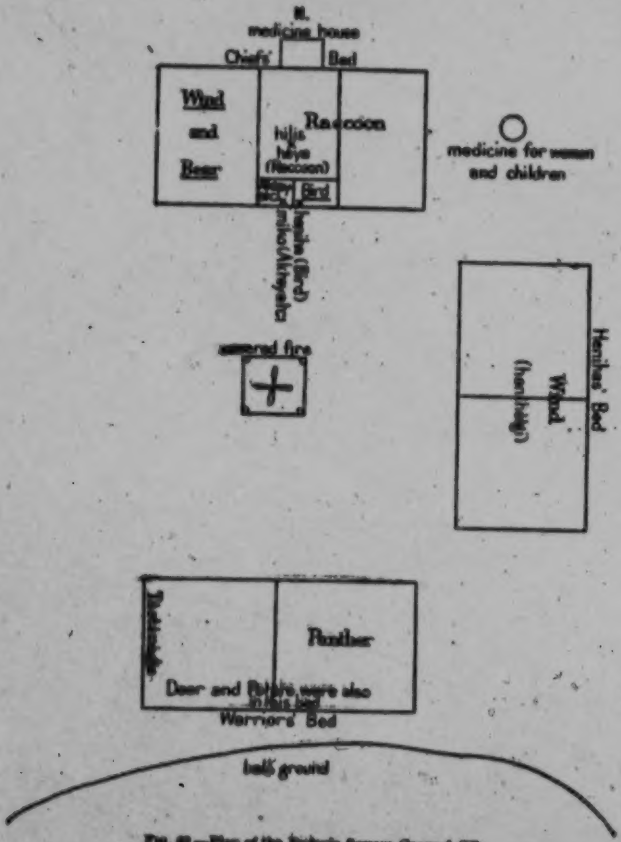
N.
medicine house
Chiefs' Bed
Wind and Bear
Raccoon
hilis haya (Raccoon)
Bird
hesiha (Bird)
medicine for women and children
sacred fire
Henihas' Bed
Wind (henihalgi)
Panther
Deer and Bobcat were also in this bed
Warriors' Bed
ball ground

Fig. 62.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (II)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Milfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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no tribe is except the Coosa and its later divisions. If we consider the traditions by themselves, then, we seem to find that one body of Muskogee came from the west and subsequently divided into two parts which came to be known as Kasihta and Coweta, and that they were early associated with another tribe, probably also Muskhogean, the Abihka. The Coosa, on the other hand, came from the west independently, and had no subdivisions until much later. The explanation of the two divisions of towns or "fires" is given in Judge Gregory's story, and there is reason to believe that they did actually originate with the division of the easternmost band of Creeks into Kasihta and Coweta, although the specific account of it is, of course, entirely mythic. This now seems plausible because, in the first place, these two towns are the only pair seemingly sprung from one stem, which are conspicuously set over against each other as leaders of the opposing sides, there being no such pairing of the Upper Creek leading towns. Moreover, Bartram records a traditional belief that the Creek confederacy had originated at the old town of Okmulgee on the river of that name—i. e., among the Lower Creeks. The later Okmulgee town was a Hitchiti settlement, but Muskogee lived along Ocmulgee River at an early date. In De Soto's time the people of Cofitachequi, which we have identified as Kasihta, knew Coosa well, and it is not improbable that the basis of the confederacy had already been laid. It is likely that it was in existence before the Tukabahchee united with the other towns, in spite of the later prominence of the former and in spite of the fact that some Creeks will tell you that the busk fire originated with the Tukabahchee and was by them distributed to the rest.

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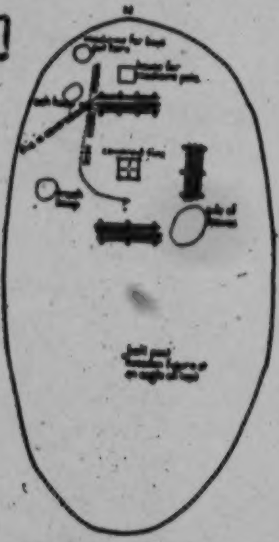

FIG. 68.—Eufaula Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Woodward says it was a matter of dispute among the Creeks whether Kasihta or Tukabahchee was settled first, but it was generally conceded that Kasihta was first settled.[39] Unfortunately we have no record, mythic or otherwise, as to how the friendship between Kasihta, Abihka, and Coosa grew up other than the references in the stories already given, and these do not explain why the friendship was between Abihka, Coosa, and Kasihta, rather than Abihka,

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[39] Woodward, Reminiscences, p. 32.

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Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probaby Łiwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Łiwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that the first was already a friend of Coweta, Łiwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.[34] From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hilibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Łikatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee tcaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

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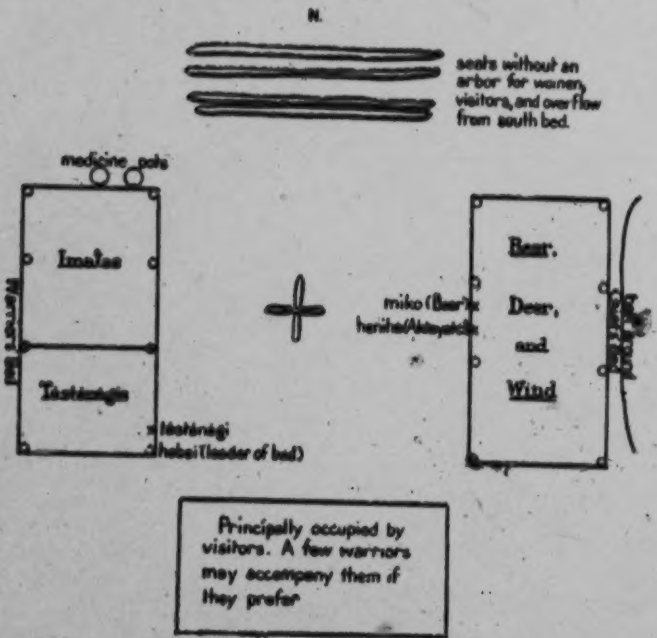
N.
seats without an arbor for women, visitors, and overflow from south bed.
medicine pots
Imalas
Warriors bed
Tastanagis
tastanagi hobai (leader of bed)
miko (Bear's)
heniha (Alabama)
Bear,
Deer,
and
Wind
Principally occupied by visitors. A few warriors may accompany them if they prefer

Fig. 64.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I)

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[34] Bull. [illegible], Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-[illegible].

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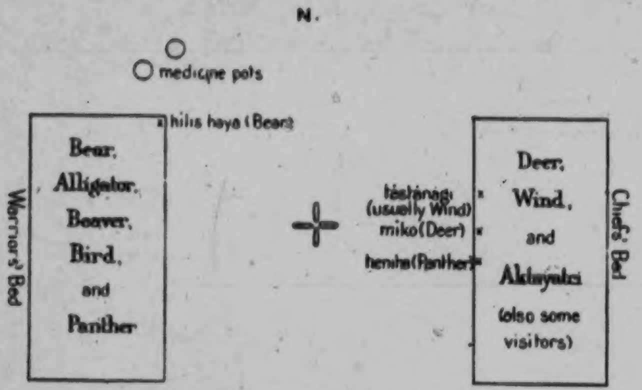
N.
medicine pots
hilis haya (Bear)
Bear,
Alligator,
Beaver,
Bird,
and
Panther
Warrior's Bed
tastanagi
(usually Wind)
miko (Deer)
heniha (Panther)
Deer,
Wind,
and
Aktayatci
(also some
visitors)
Chiefs' Bed

Fig. 65.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (II)

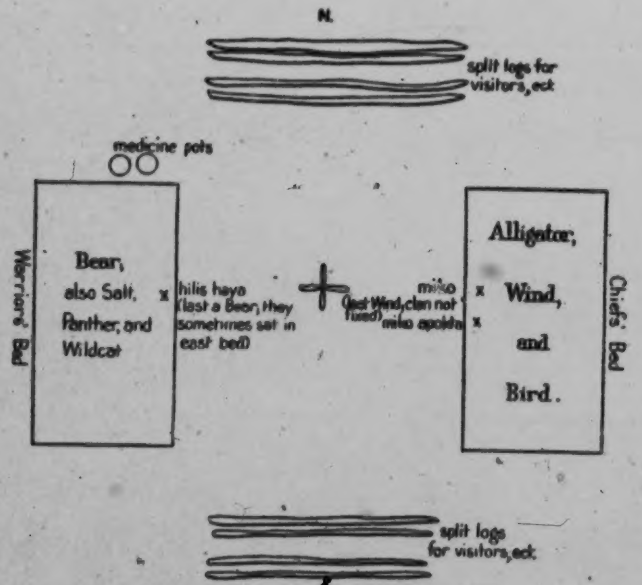
N.
split logs for
visitors, eck
medicine pots
Bear,
also Salt,
Panther, and
Wildcat
Warriors' Bed
hilis haya
(last a Bear, they
sometimes sat in
east bed)
miko
(last Wind, clan not
fixed)
miko apokta
Alligator,
Wind,
and
Bird.
Chiefs' Bed
split logs
for visitors, eck

Fig. 66.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (III)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Alabama
Muskogee

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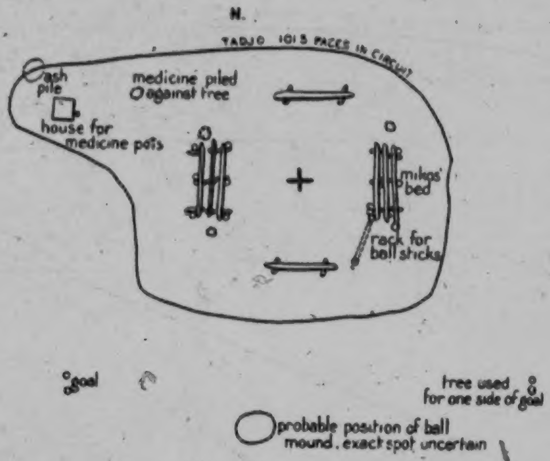
N.
TADJO 1015 PACES IN CIRCUIT
ash pile
medicine piled against tree
house for medicine pots
mikos' bed
rack for ball sticks
goal
tree used for one side of goal
probable position of ball mound, exact spot uncertain

FIG. 67.—The Alabama Ceremonial Ground in 1912

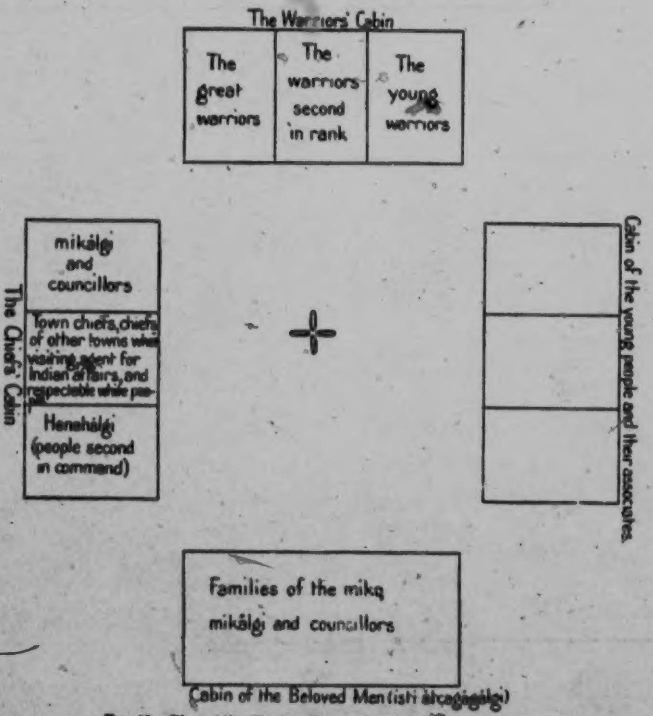
The Warriors' Cabin
The great warriors
The warriors second in rank
The young warriors
The Chief's Cabin
mikâlgi and councillors
Town chiefs, chiefs of other towns when visiting, agent for Indian affairs, and respectable white people
Henehâlgi (people second in command)
Cabin of the young people and their associates.
Families of the miko mikâlgi and councillors
Cabin of the Beloved Men (isti atcagagâlgi)

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Hawkins)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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groups. And with the exception of Tukabahchee and its associates, which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,[illegible] was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with

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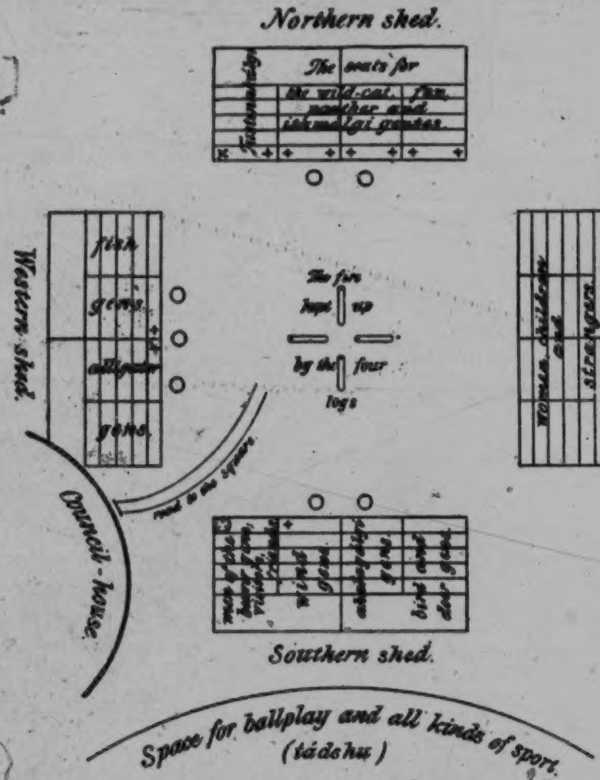
Northern shed.
The seats for the wild-cat, fish, panther and ishmalgi gentes
Western shed.
fish gens
alligator gens
The fire kept up by the four logs
Eastern shed.
women, children and strangers
road to the square
Council-house
Southern shed.
Space for ballplay and all kinds of sport (tádshu)

Fig. 69.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

[illegible] See p. 256.

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Muskogee

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whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and

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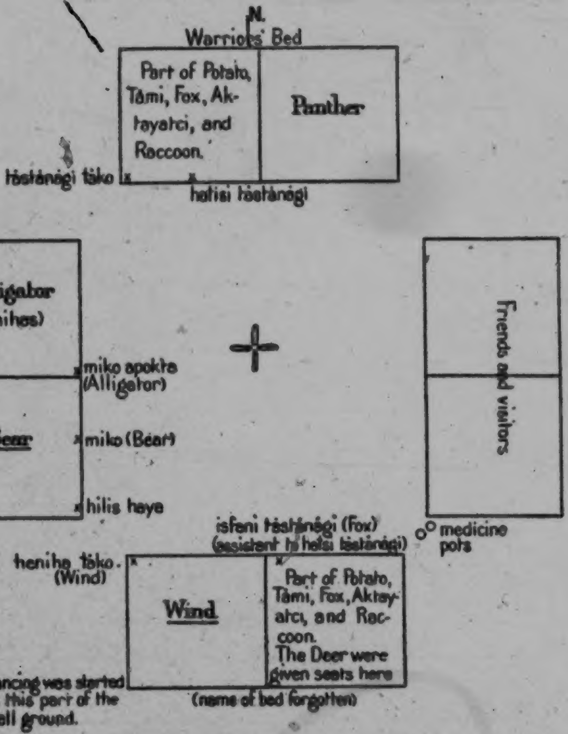
N.
Warriors' Bed
Part of Potato, Tâmi, Fox, Aktayatci, and Raccoon.
Panther
tastanagi tako
hatisi tastanagi
Alligator (henihas)
Chiefs' Bed
miko apokta (Alligator)
Bear
miko (Bear)
hilis haye
Friends and visitors
isfani tastanagi (Fox) (assistant to hatisi tastanagi)
medicine pots
heniha tako (Wind)
Wind
Part of Potato, Tâmi, Fox, Aktayatci, and Raccoon. The Deer were given seats here
dancing was started in this part of the ball ground.
(name of bed forgotten)

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

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Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

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possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Tookote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitca and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Łidjami with the Tukabahchee and related towns and

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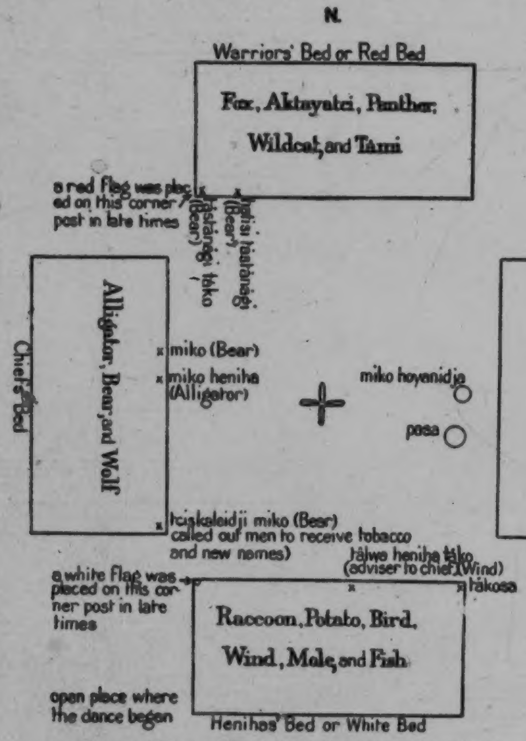
N.
Warriors' Bed or Red Bed
Fox, Aktayatci, Panther, Wildcat, and Tami
a red flag was placed on this corner post in late times
tastanagi tako (Bear)
tisi tastanagi (Bear)
Alligator, Bear, and Wolf
Chief's Bed
miko (Bear)
miko heniha (Alligator)
miko hoyanidja
posa
tciskaleidji miko (Bear) called out men to receive tobacco and new names)
łalwa heniha tako (adviser to chief)(Wind)
takosa
a white flag was placed on this corner post in late times
Raccoon, Potato, Bird, Wind, Mole, and Fish
open place where the dance began
Henihas' Bed or White Bed

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

the Raccoon with the Tukabahchee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatci is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians

factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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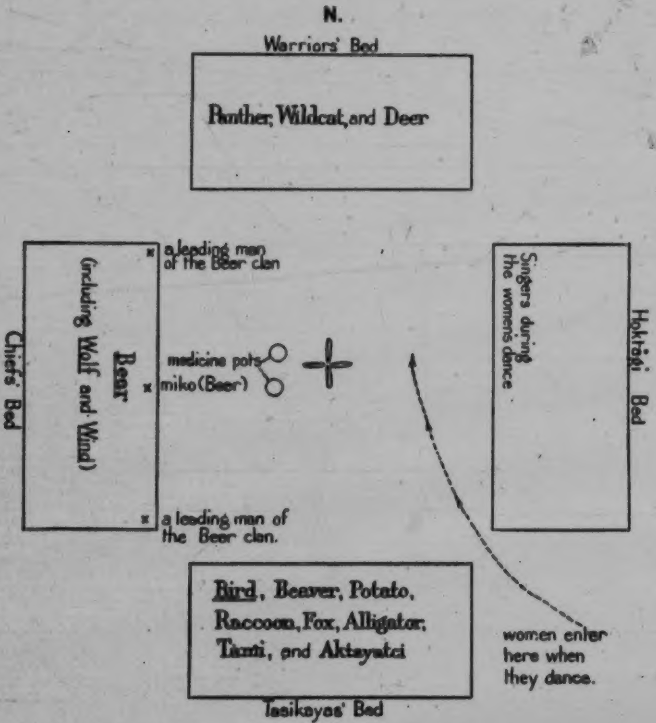
N.
Warriors' Bed
Panther, Wildcat, and Deer
a leading man of the Bear clan
Bear (including Wolf and Wind)
Chiefs' Bed
medicine pots
miko (Bear)
a leading man of the Bear clan.
Singers during the womens dance
Hoktagi Bed
Bird, Beaver, Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator, Tami, and Aktayatci
women enter here when they dance.
Tasikayas' Bed

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

C.
[344
621]

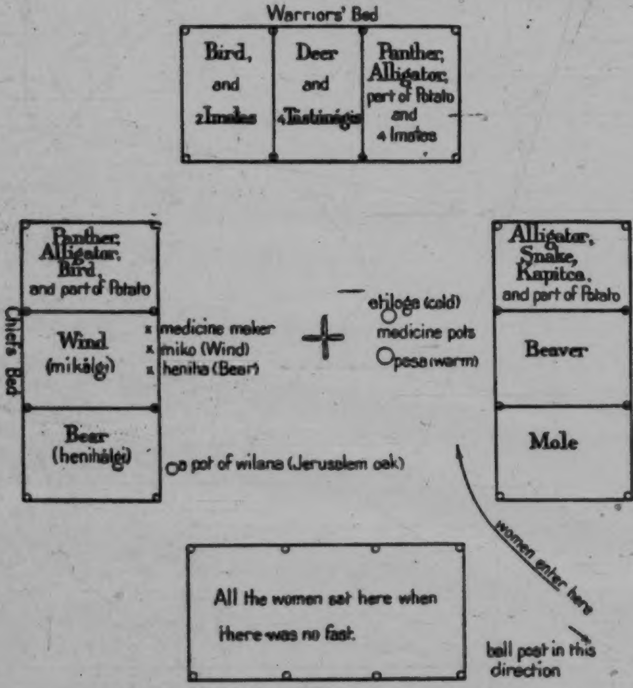
Warriors' Bed
Bird, and 2 Imalas
Deer and 4 Tastinagis
Panther, Alligator, part of Potato and 4 Imalas
Panther, Alligator, Bird, and part of Potato
Chief's Bed
Wind (mikálgi)
Bear (henihálgi)
x medicine maker
x miko (Wind)
x heniha (Bear)
o pot of wilana (Jerusalem oak)
ahiloga (cold)
medicine pots
pesa (warm)
Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, and part of Potato
Holahtas' Bed
Beaver
Mole
women enter here
ball post in this direction
All the women sat here when there was no fast.

FIG. 73.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa łáko) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

/ 1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Hitchiti

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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

C. [344 621]

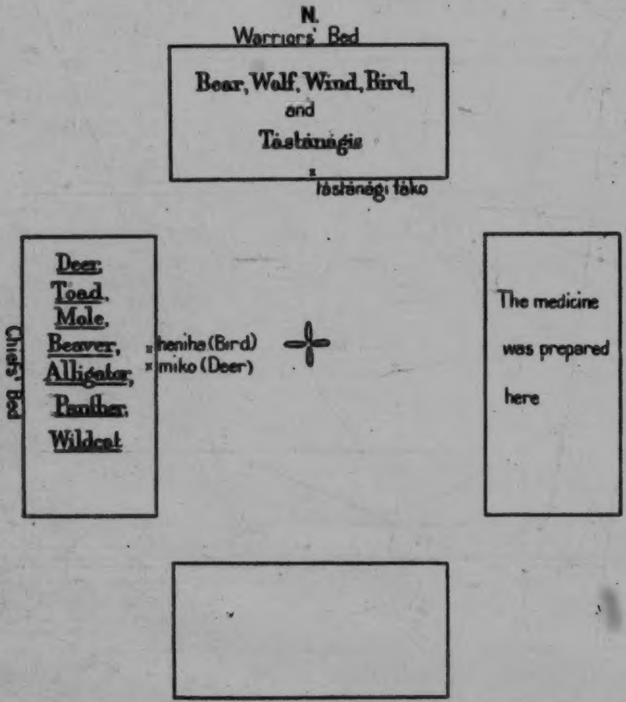
N.
Warriors' Bed
Bear, Wolf, Wind, Bird,
and
Tàstànàgis
x tàstànàgi làko
Chiefs' Bed
Deer,
Toad,
Mole,
Beaver,
Alligator,
Panther,
Wildcat
x heniha (Bird)
x miko (Deer)
The medicine
was prepared
here

Fig. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tålwa låko) (II)

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Southeastern Indians
NN3

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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

C. [344 621]

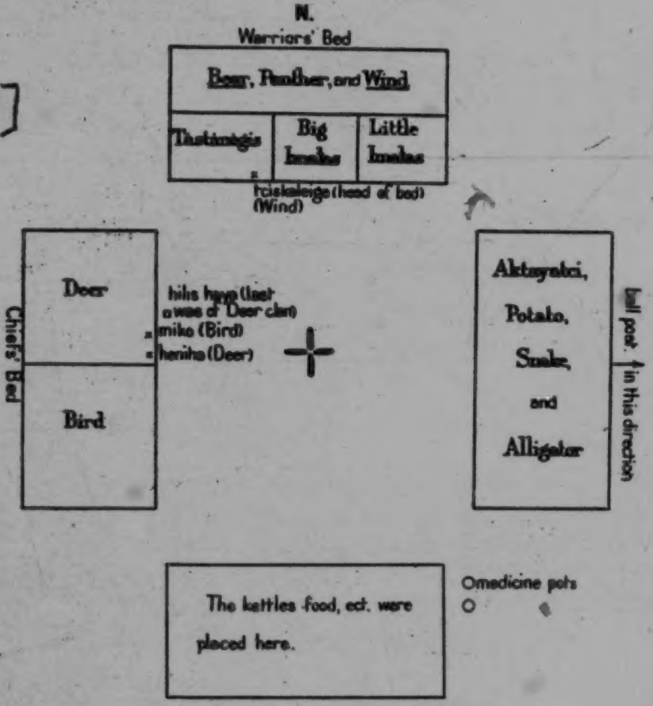
N.
Warriors' Bed
Bear, Panther, and Wind
Tastanagis
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
tciskalalgi (head of bed) (Wind)
Chiefs' Bed
Deer
Bird
hilis haya (last one was of Deer clan)
miko (Bird)
heniha (Deer)
Aktayatci, Potato, Snake, and Alligator
ball post ↑ in this direction
The kettles food, ect. were placed here.
medicine pots

FIG. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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use of bird feathers in peace-making ceremonies, and in corroboration of that suggestion it must be remembered that the Bird clan was reckoned a White clan among the Creeks and that it did not include the Eagle or the Turkey. It is interesting to note that in Florida the Bear and Bird clans were associated as they were among the Creeks. The Panther clan is almost as popular as the Bird and Deer, being wanting only from the Cherokee; the nature of the animal accounts sufficiently for this. Of the remaining clans the Wind, Beaver, Alligator, and Snake are most prominent among the Creeks and those tribes particularly influenced by them; the Wolf is most prominent among the Cherokee, and the Buzzard and Earth clans among the Timucua. It is rather remarkable that the Fish was less in evidence among the Creeks than among the Timucua on one side and the Chickasaw on the other.

Y. [344 621]

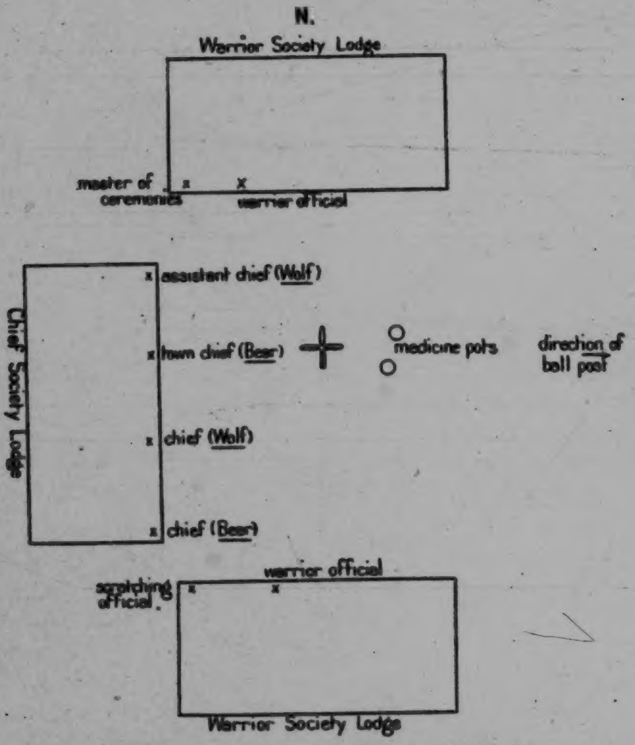
N.
Warrior Society Lodge
master of ceremonies
warrior official
assistant chief (Wolf)
town chief (Bear)
medicine pots
direction of ball post
Chief Society Lodge
chief (Wolf)
chief (Bear)
scratching official
warrior official
Warrior Society Lodge

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Yuchi Square Ground. (After Speck)

Whether the clans actually originated with those tribes among which they were most prominent in historic times and spread from them to the others is a question to which no answer can be given

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
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on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

C.
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621]

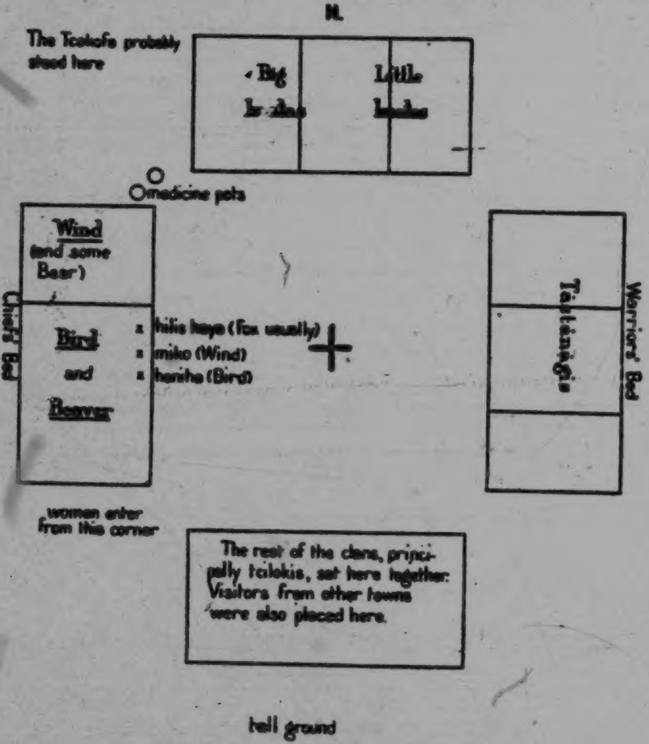
N.
The Tcakofa probably stood here
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
medicine pots
Wind (and some Bear)
Chiefs' Bed
Bird and Beaver
hilis haya (Fox usually)
miko (Wind)
heniha (Bird)
Tastanagis
Warriors' Bed
women enter from this corner
The rest of the clans, principally tcilokis, sat here together. Visitors from other towns were also placed here.
ball ground

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Southeastern Indians NN3

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C. [344 621]

Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogálgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

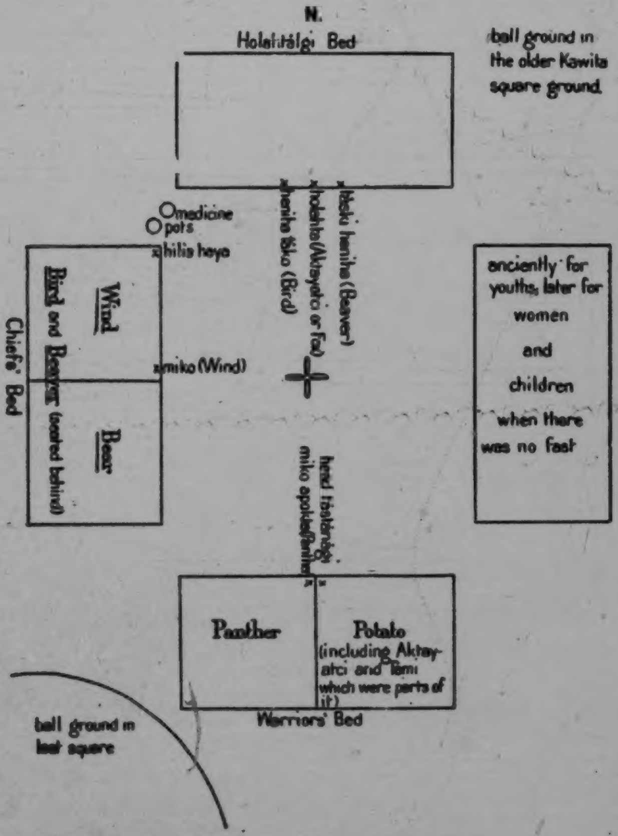
N.
Holahtálgi Bed
ball ground in the older Kawita square ground
medicine pots
hilis haya
miko (Wind)
henîha tîko (Bird)
holahta (Aktayatci or Fox)
itsaki heniha (Beaver)
Wind
Bird and Beaver (seated behind)
Bear
Chiefs' Bed
anciently for youths, later for women and children when there was no fast
head tîsatanagi
miko apokta (heniha)
Panther
Potato (including Aktayatci and Tami which were parts of it)
Warriors' Bed
ball ground in last square

Fig. 78.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

GOVERNMENT

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The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confederation, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

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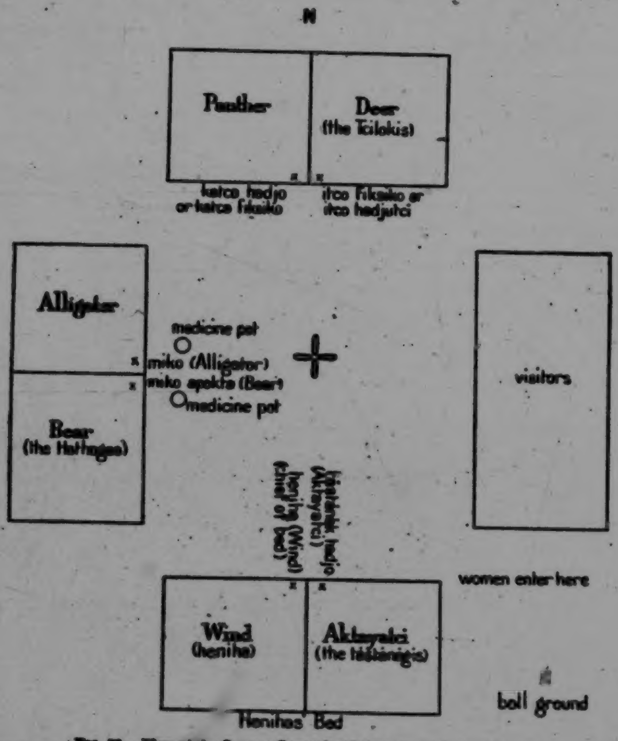
N
Panther
Deer
(the Tcilokis)
katca hadjo
or katca fiksiko
itco fiksiko or
itco hadjutci
Alligator
medicine pot
miko (Alligator)
miko apokta (Bear)
medicine pot
Bear
(the Hathagas)
visitors
tastanagi hadjo
(Aktayatci)
heniha (Wind)
(chief of bed)
women enter here
Wind
(heniha)
Aktayatci
(the tastanagis)
ball ground
Henihas' Bed

FIG. 73.—Plan of the Square Ground of Likatcka or Broken Arrow

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

towns alone being under mikos.[30] If he[4] means by warriors men bearing the title tástanági we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

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[621
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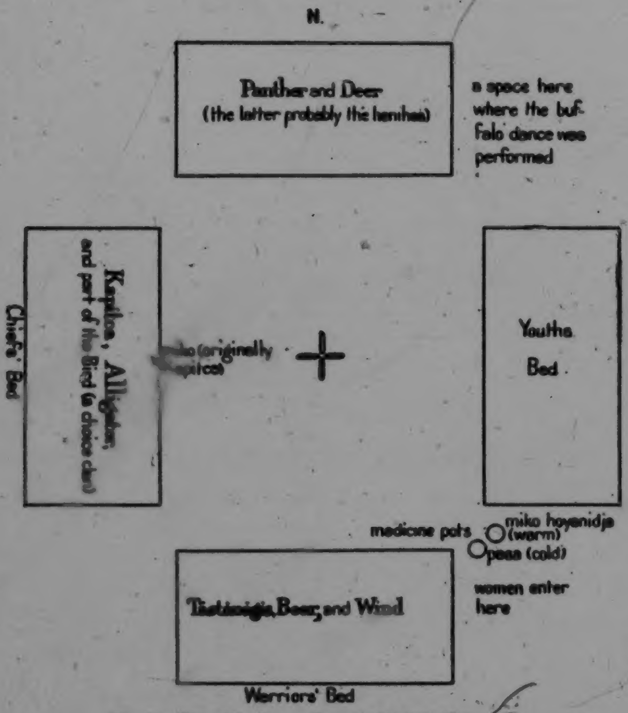
N.
Panther and Deer
(the latter probably the henihas)
a space here where the buffalo dance was performed
Chiefs' Bed
Kapitca, Alligator, and part of the Bird (a choice clan)
miko (originally Kapitca)
Youths Bed
medicine pots
miko hoyanidja (warm)
pasa (cold)
women enter here
Tástanagis, Bear, and Wind
Warriors' Bed

Fig. 90.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

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[30] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

4[i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

622 talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[27] Bartram remarks:

[574] "He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, receives presents, etc. He[1] alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night."[28]

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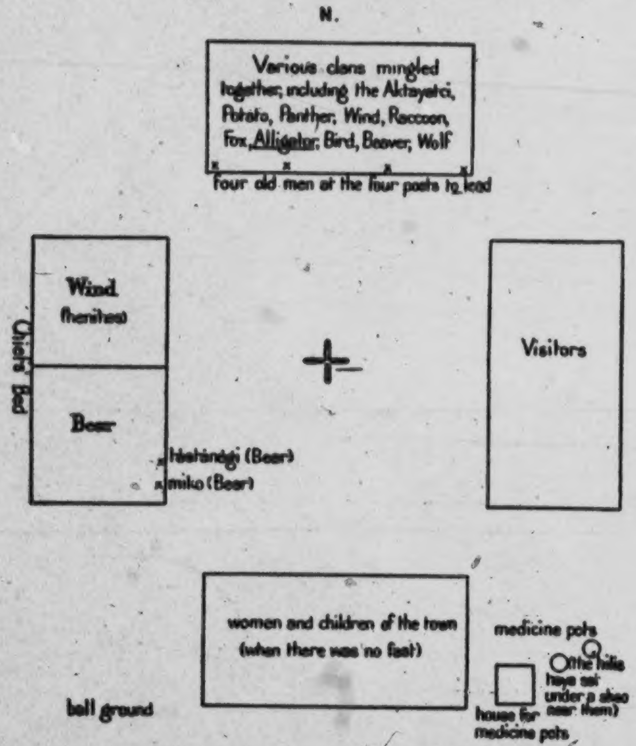
N.
Various clans mingled together, including the Aktayatci, Potato, Panther, Wind, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator, Bird, Beaver, Wolf
Four old men at the four posts to lead
Wind (henihas)
Bear
Chiefs' Bed
hiatcnagi (Bear)
miko (Bear)
Visitors
women and children of the town (when there was no feast)
medicine pots
(the hilis haya sat under a shed near them)
house for medicine pots
ball ground

FIG. 81.—Plan of the Square Gr[illegible]f Eufaula Hobayi (II)

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[27] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69.

[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 24

[1] [i.e., the miko. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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Speck says regarding the Tuskegee miko:

"The function of this dignitary, as the civil head of the town, was to receive all embassies from other tribes, to direct the decisions of the town council according to his judgment, and finally to stand as the representative of the town in foreign negotiations. . . . The town chief had also to appoint the time for the annual harvest ceremony. He had personal charge of the town square and the lodges about it, and it was his duty to distribute the broken sticks to the heads of families by which they were to number the days to elapse before the ceremony. The Taskigi have been known to depose their town chief on the ground of inefficiency and to elect another from his clan instead."[28]

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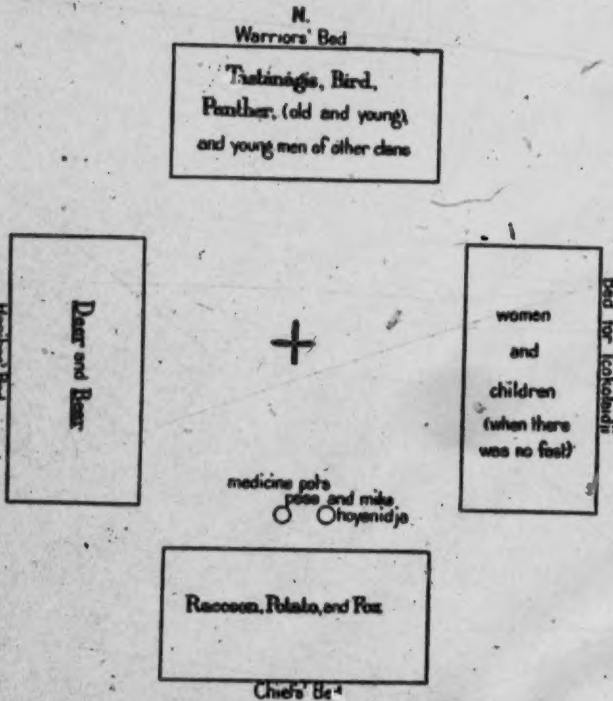
N.
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis, Bird, Panther, (old and young), and young men of other clans
Henihas' Bed
Deer and Bear
women and children (when there was no feast)
Bed for Tcokolaidji
medicine pots
pose and miko
Hoyanidja
Raccoon, Potato, and Fox
Chiefs' Bed

FIG. 82.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (I)

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action with-

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[28] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 113.

Hitchiti

622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko łáko, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he

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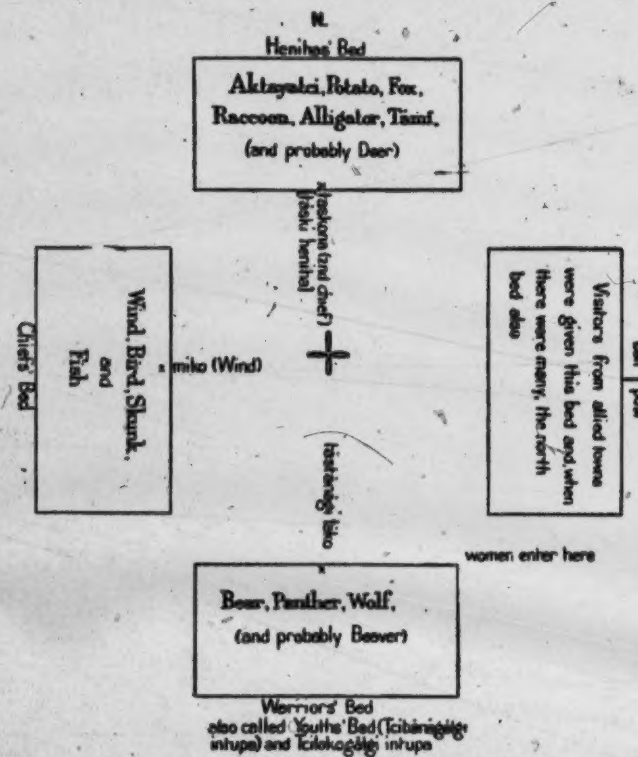
N.
Henihas' Bed
Aktayatci, Potato, Fox, Raccoon, Alligator, Tämf. (and probably Deer)
x Yaskona (2nd chief) Hiaki heniha)
Chief's Bed
Wind, Bird, Skunk, and Fish
x miko (Wind)
Visitors from allied towns were given this bed and, when there were many, the north bed also
ball post
hatcinigigi łáko
women enter here
Bear, Panther, Wolf, (and probably Beaver)
Warriors' Bed
also called Youths' Bed (Tcibanagâlgi intupa) and Tcilokogâlgi intupa

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

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622 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Osochi

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person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance."[illegible] As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtca told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.[illegible] According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtca himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

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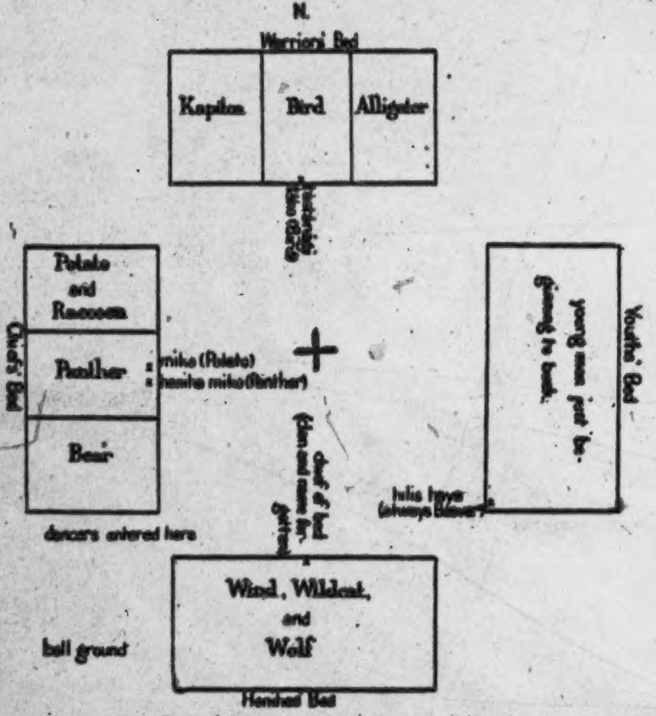
N.
Warriors' Bed
Kapitca
Bird
Alligator
Potato and Raccoon
Panther
Bear
Chief's Bed
miko (Potato)
heniha miko (Panther)
chief of bed (clan not remembered)
holis haya (always Beaver?)
young men just beginning to bask
Youths' Bed
dancers entered here
Wind, Wildcat, and Wolf
ball ground
Henihas' Bed

Fig. 84.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (1)

[illegible] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

[illegible] Gatschet, Ms. notes; see p. [illegible].

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According to Jackson Lewis, who was best acquainted with Upper Eufaula, the selection was made by the other members of the same clan, but this seems to have been unusual. According to a Hilibi Indian well versed in everything connected with the organization of a town, the miko was selected by three men, one taken from the clan of the former chief, one from the clan of his father, and a third who appears not to have belonged to any particular clan. My informant added that they uniformly selected the humblest person belonging to the royal clan and those who picked him out always had to labor with him to induce him to accept. Some of this reluctance was no doubt a matter of etiquette, but the public and ceremonial demands of the position were so great and so much of the well-being or misfortune of the tribe was attributed to the incumbent that he may well have shrunk from the responsibility. The miko was, however, at liberty to resign. Some of those who selected the miko might belong to Red clans but he was always inducted into office by a member of one of the White clans. He was seated upon an unsmoked buckskin and

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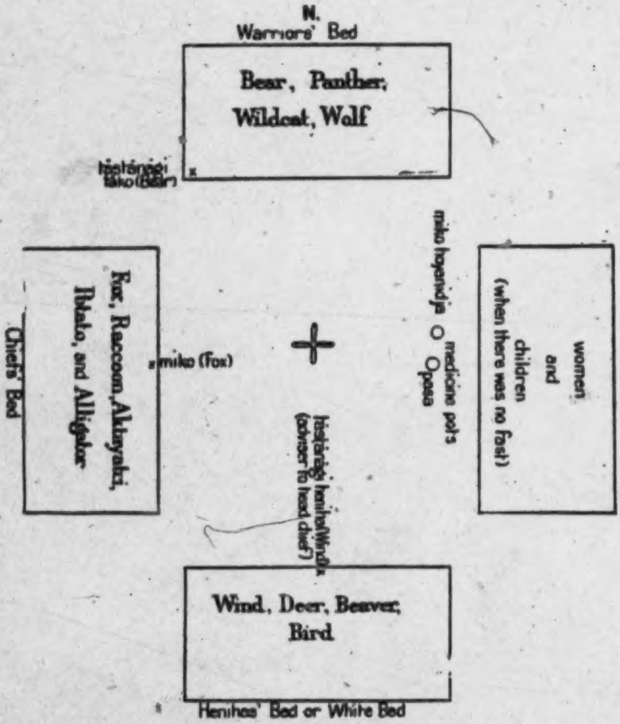
N.
Warriors' Bed
Bear, Panther, Wildcat, Wolf
tastanagi lako (Bear)
Fox, Raccoon, Akinyabi, Potato, and Alligator
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Fox)
miko hoponidja
medicine pots
pasa
women and children (when there was no fast)
tastanagi hanihal(Wind)
(adviser to head chief)
Wind, Deer, Beaver, Bird
Henihas' Bed or White Bed

FIG. 85.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622.

an address was delivered to him by a speaker appointed for that purpose in which his future duties and the expectations of the tribe regarding him were set forth. In 1912 the then chief of the Yuchi informed me that when he was installed he was placed upon a buckskin which had been dressed by a virgin, and in the speech which was made to him the other members of the tribe were called his "children" and his duties to them were set forth. He was told that all of the paths were white for him; that he was to be governed by that fact and shed no blood. The ceremony was completed by all passing around behind him in single file. This ceremony seems to have been common to all of the towns of the confederacy. It emphasizes the miko's close connection with affairs of peace.

S. [344
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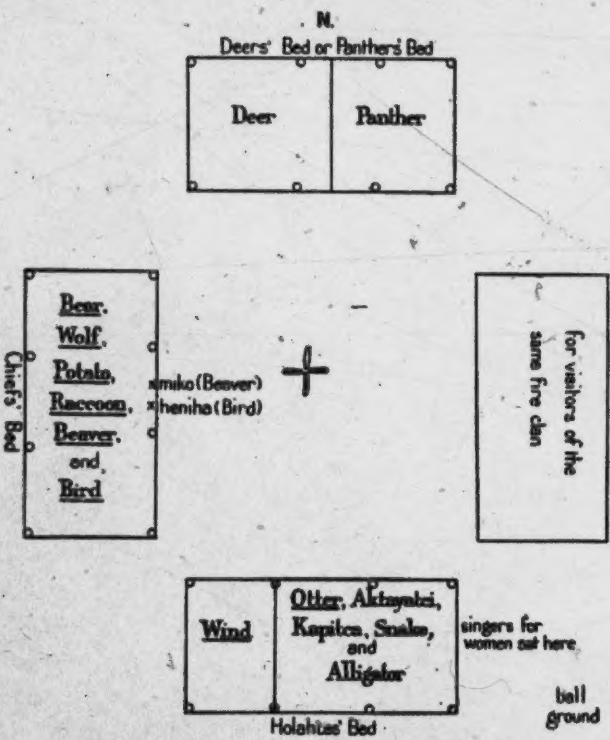
N.
Deers' Bed or Panthers' Bed
Deer
Panther
Chiefs' Bed
Bear,
Wolf,
Potato,
Raccoon,
Beaver,
and
Bird
miko (Beaver)
heniha (Bird)
Youths' Bed
for visitors of the same fire clan
Wind
Otter, Aktayahi,
Kapitca, Snake,
and
Alligator
singers for women sat here
ball ground
Holahtas' Bed

Fig. 88.—Plan of the Square Ground of Ochesee Seminole

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622
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In Tukabahchee the organization was somewhat different, there being seven principal chiefs (mikági) who sat in the front seat of the Chiefs' bed, extending from the center to the southern end. Each of them had an assistant or heniha (an official to be noted presently). If the head miko, who sat in the center of the bed, did not succeed—

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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i. e., if the town did not prosper under him, whether he was responsible or not—or if his heniha died he had to surrender his place and move down to the foot of the row of mikos, the rest of whom moved up, and the man next to him took his place. Vacancies in the row of mikos were filled by the remaining mikos in consultation with the tástanágis, who were called over to the Chiefs' bed to confer about the matter. The man selected was escorted to his seat by another miko or by a tástanágí. Mention has already been made of the anomalous

S. [344 621]

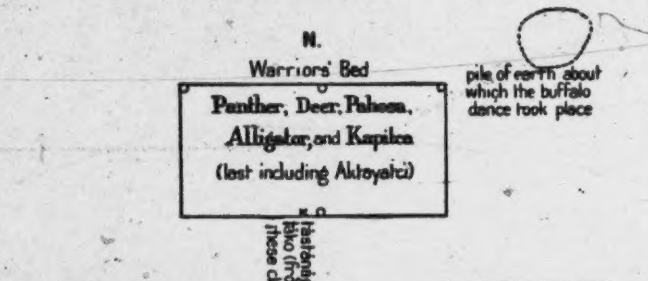
N.
Warriors' Bed
Panther, Deer, Pahosa, Alligator, and Kapika (last including Aktayatci)
pile of earth about which the buffalo dance took place
tastanagi, tako (from any of these clans)
Chief's Bed
Beaver
Bird, Bear, and Potato, (last including Raccoon)
miko (Beaver)
miko apokta (Bird)
Young men
Youths' Bed
pot of pasa
pot of miko hoyanidja
Wind and Snake
(no special name for bed)

FIG. 87.—Plan of the Square Ground of Okfuskee Seminole

miko called Ispokogi miko, who perhaps enjoyed priestly functions, but of course nothing is known regarding the manner of his selection, the institution having died out too long ago.

C. 622

Tukabahchee preserves its old square organization very well and its system of government may be representative of that of other Creek towns, but I am inclined to think that considerable differences always existed. The Coweta head chief is said to have been elected at a meeting of the entire town, but the actual selection may have

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622

been entrusted to the White clans (see p. 281). Probably he was chosen in the same way as the second chief who is said to have been nominated by the White clans, and the nomination confirmed, merely as a matter of form, by the Tcilokis. According to Legus Perryman, the chiefs at Lutcapoga, along with the other officers of each of the three beds, were chosen by the members of the other two, the only limitation being in respect to the clan from which they could be taken.

The chiefs of the Texas Alabama were elected at a general meeting of the tribe, but this statement applies only to recent times, and before they left the other Creeks in Alabama their custom may have been different.

S. [344 621]

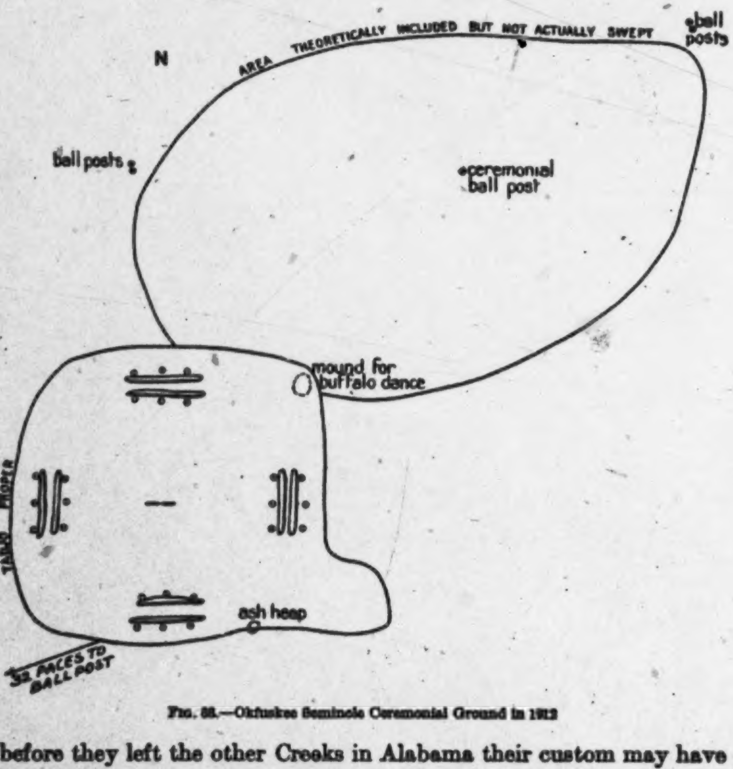
N
AREA THEORETICALLY INCLUDED BUT NOT ACTUALLY SWEPT
ball posts
ball posts
ceremonial ball post
mound for buffalo dance
TABOO PROPER
ash heap
32 PACES TO BALL POST

FIG. 88.—Okfuskee Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

C. 614 622 624

As we have seen in the case of Tukabahchee, there were sometimes assistant chiefs. At Tukabahchee they were all of one clan, but sometimes they were of different clans, perhaps in such cases the heads of their respective clans, for we know that the oldest or most influential uncle in each presided at clan councils and advised his fellows regarding their conduct. This has been spoken of already. At Pakan tallahassee the miko, who belongs to the Aktayatci clan, sits

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C.
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622
624

in the middle of the north bed, on his left his henīha, and on his right, in succession, a second chief of the Wind clan, a third chief of the Bear (or Panther) clan, and a fourth chief of the Bird (or Panther) clan.

Usually, however, there was one principal subordinate chief, or vice chief, miko apokta ("twin chief") as he was called, and the customs regarding him seem to have varied considerably from town to town. Hawkins says of this chief: "When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly." The second chief in Tulsa Canadian, Lutcapoga, and probably in the other Tulsa towns as well, belonged to the Beaver clan, the same as that which furnished the first chief. According to Legus Perryman, the second chief of Lutcapoga was

S.
[344
621]

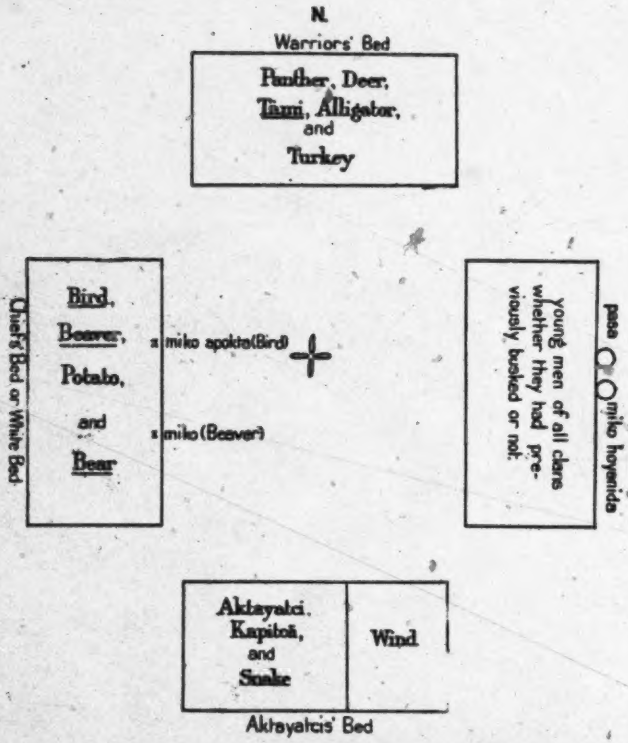
N.
Warriors' Bed
Panther, Deer, Tāmi, Alligator, and Turkey
Chief's Bed or White Bed
Bird, Beaver, Potato, and Bear
x miko apokta (Bird)
x miko (Beaver)
pasa
miko hoyenida
young men of all clans whether they had previously busked or not.
Aktayatci, Kapitcā, and Snake
Wind
Aktayatcis' Bed

FIG. 89.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahasutci Seminole

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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622
624
614

called the itá'lwa mi'ko. He was assistant to the head chief and, while the authority of the latter extended over the town as a whole, he concerned himself with matters of a more local character, particularly those connected with the square. He might be called the "square chief." Similarly, the second chief of Coweta, who was taken from the Panther clan, is said to have been "chief of the square," while the head chief was "speaker for the other towns friendly to Coweta." This may refer back to the time when the Coweta chief was also chief of all the Lower Creeks. The second chief of Łiwahali is said to have been of the Aktayatci or Fox clan and to have taken charge if, for any reason, the miko had to leave the square ground. In Łikatcha the miko belonged to the Alligator clan and the miko apokta to the Bear. I was informed that at Chiaha the miko and heniha were both taken from the Bear clan, but the miko apokta must have been intended instead of the heniha. From Speck it appears that the position of miko apokta at Tuskegee was of a less permanent character. He says: "If the *miko* could not leave his town he appointed a delegate who bore his title to attend the councils of other towns or those of the Confederacy."[33]

S.
[344]

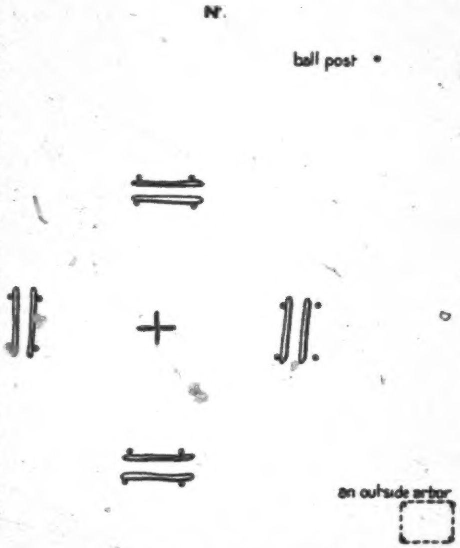

FIG. 90.—Tallahasutci Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Connected evidently with the institution of a miko apokta was a condition reported from several towns in which the chieftainship alternated between two clans. I was informed that in Tcatoksofka such an alternation took place between the Bear and Beaver clans. If the head chief belonged to the Bear clan and the second chief to the Beaver clan, and the former died the latter would become head chief, a member of the Bear clan being chosen as second chief. In Tuskegee a similar alternation took place between the Bear and Wind clans, and in the old Abihka town near Eufaula an alternation is reported between the Bear and Raccoon. This Abihka square has, however, long been given up and the other Abihka towns do not seem

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[33] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Seminole NN16

C. 614 622

to have preserved the custom, although in two of them the chiefs are Bear and the henihas Raccoon. In the Seminole town of Talahasutci there is said to have been an alternation between the Beaver and the Bird clans. I was told that, after the last reorganization of the Hitchiti square in which the miko was taken from the Bird clan and the heniha from the Deer, in an emergency the latter could be made miko and the former heniha.

C. 624

In addition to the chiefs, second chiefs, and similar leaders there was anciently a considerable body of persons called mikági, or mikálgi,

S. [344 621]

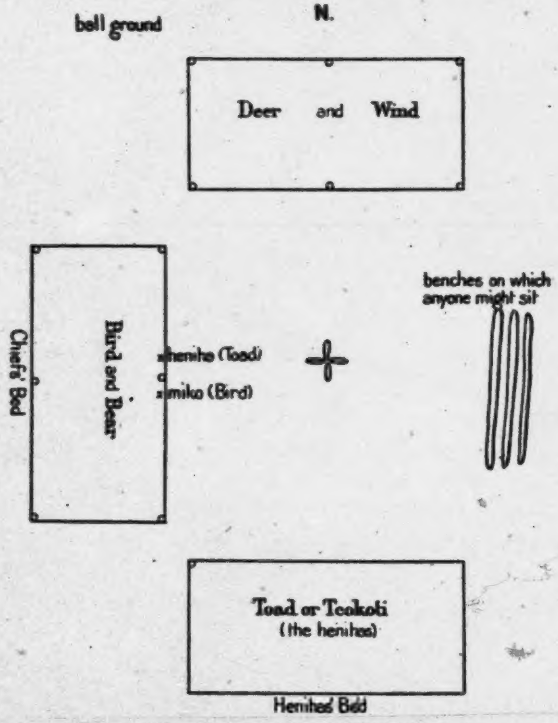
bell ground
N.
Deer and Wind
Chiefs' Bed
Bird and Bear
heniha (Toad)
miko (Bird)
benches on which anyone might sit
Toad or Tcokoti
(the henihas)
Henihas' Bed

FIG. 91.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole

the plural of miko, who performed minor functions. These were ordinarily taken from the same clan as the head miko, though it may be possible that the appellation was extended beyond under certain circumstances, particularly in later times. It is even possible that the name may have been bestowed at the busk on account of an ancestor who had this title and with no office or dignity attached. All we can say is that the mikági belonged theoretically, and usually, to the clan of the head miko. The following account of this class by

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek

Seminole NN16

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621

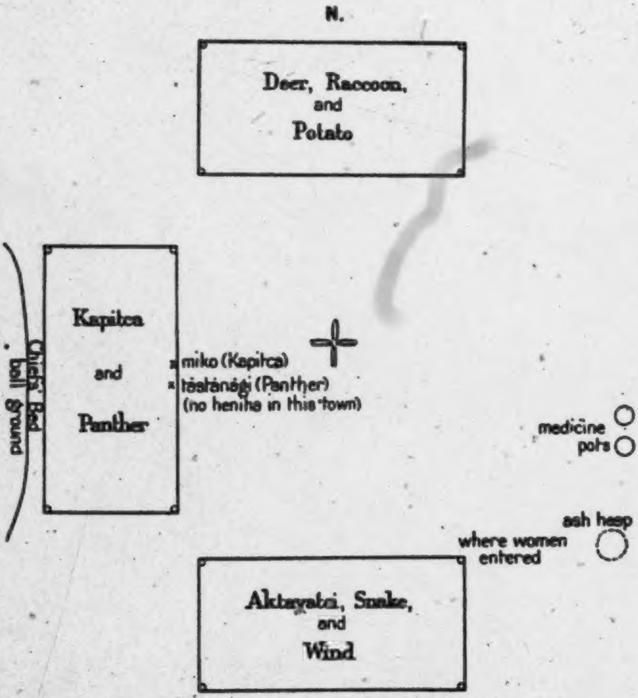
N.
Deer, Raccoon, and Potato
Kapitca and Panther
Chiefs' Bed
ball Ground
x miko (Kapitca)
x täsfänägi (Panther)
(no heniha in this town)
medicine pots
ash heap
where women entered
Aktayatci, Snake, and Wind

FIG. 92.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Seminole

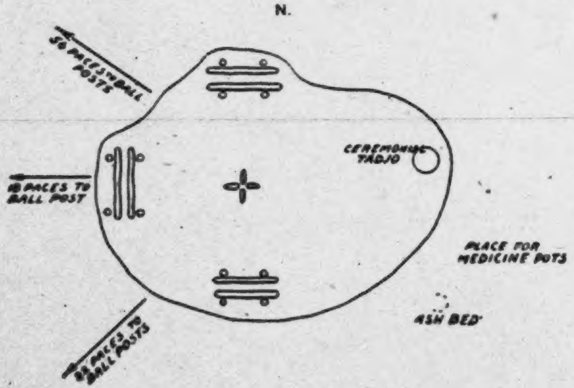
N.
50 PACES TO BALL POSTS
10 PACES TO BALL POST
CEREMONIAL TADJO
PLACE FOR MEDICINE POTS
ASH BED
22 PACES TO BALL POSTS

FIG. 93.—Eufaula Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

C.
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Stiggins contains practically all that we know about them. Its importance must be allowed to compensate for the execrable English in which it is cast:

"For a better distribution of their public business, such as public work of planting and tending in corn, &c., their public town field and gathering their Eupon or Cassine leaves for their black drink—when every man of age is obliged to attend and do his part or be fined according to his circumstances—the inhabited parts of the nation are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point, which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga* which term is the plural of *mic co*, a term of gradation more applicable to the office of overseer or guardian in my conception than to that of a King, (as most people will interpret it,) as many towns have at least one tenth of its population for *mic cul ga*

S.
[344
621]

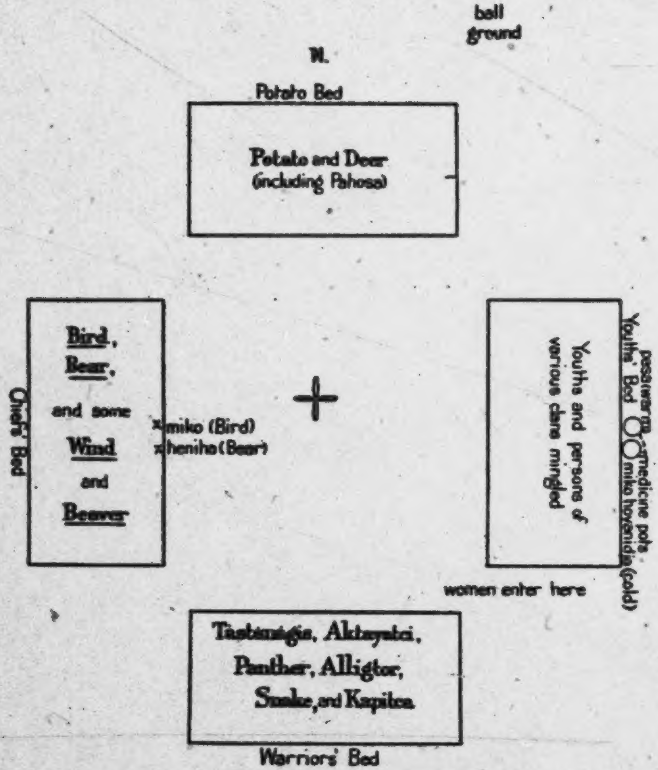
ball ground
N.
Potato Bed
Potato and Deer
(including Pahosa)
Bird,
Bear,
and some
Wind
and
Beaver
Chief's Bed
×miko (Bird)
×heniha (Bear)
Youths and persons of various clans mingled
Youths' Bed
pasa (warm)
medicine pots
miko hoyanidja (cold)
women enter here
Tastanagis, Aktayatci,
Panther, Alligtor,
Snake, and Kapitca
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 94.—Plan of the Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole (I)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek
Seminole NN11b

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621

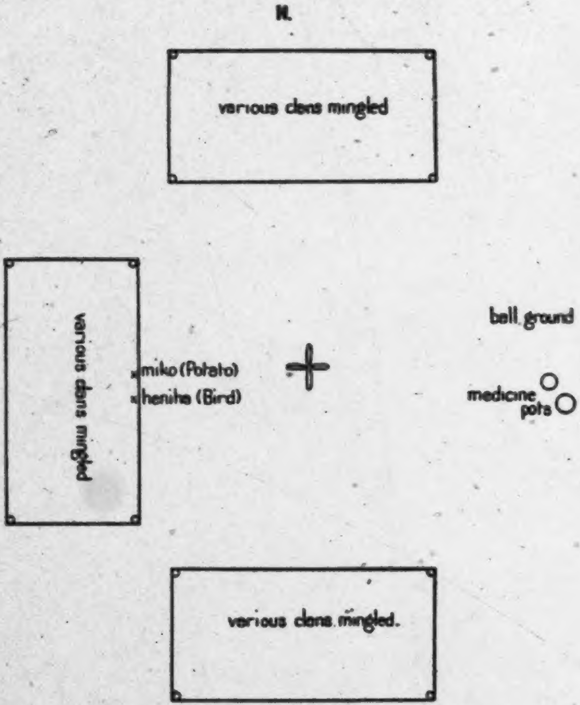
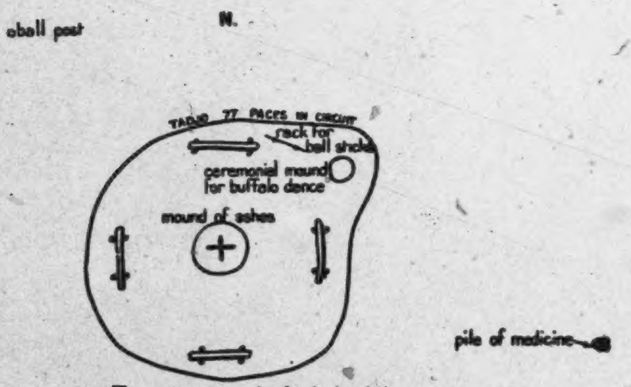

N.
various clans mingled
various clans mingled
miko (Potato)
henihe (Bird)
ball ground
medicine pots
various clans mingled.

FIG. 96.—Plan of the Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole (II)


ball post
N.
TADJO 77 PACES IN CIRCUIT
rack for ball sticks
ceremonial mound for buffalo dance
mound of ashes
pile of medicine

The seats were each of a single split log
The Seminoles did not remove the ashes of the fire.

FIG. 97.—Liwahali Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

C. 624

which is none too many for guardians to watch over them and moralize their conduct, but it is constituting by far too many kings for one town or principality. When it is thought necessary for the principal men or committee of townsmen to make a new *mic co*, they proceed very ceremoniously in their rude way to his inauguration, *to wit* without his being previously consulted on the subject, when they have made the determination to effect it, and at their townhouse assembly they advance up to him, and call him at the same time in a loud, long, and shrill tone by a name that he is thereafter to go by, with the addition of *mic co*, for instance such as *yo ho lo micco* or *Ispocoga mic co*, etc.; and at the same time they smear his face all over with white clay, a ceremony imitating in importance the accolade of knighthood and Sir. Though some of the *miccos* do rise to be principal chiefs it is by merit, for nominal office [of the mic cul ga] is for town purposes to admonish, regulate, and keep in peace the members of their town people by whom they are regarded with respect and deference. There are other applicable Sir names given to

S. [344 621]

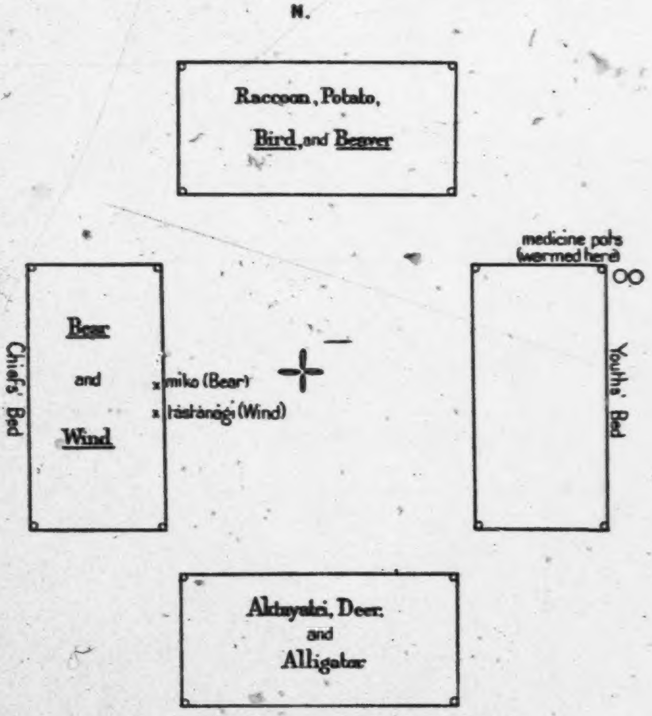

N.
Raccoon, Potato,
Bird, and Beaver
medicine pots
(warmed here)
Chiefs' Bed
Bear
and
Wind
x miko (Bear)
x heniha (Wind)
Youths' Bed
Aktayatci, Deer.
and
Alligator

FIG. 97.—Plan of the Square Ground of Chiaha Seminole

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Seminole NN16

C. 624

distinguish their grade in their town police. They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[23]

The henihálgi were devoted to peace even more than the mikági. As I have shown elsewhere, a White clan was almost always chosen for this office, and originally the position appears to have been a particular prerogative of the Wind people.[23a] Their section in the square ground was usually known as the "White bed" and was often diametrically opposite that of the Warriors. Hawkins says of the henihálgi: "These have the direction of the public works appertaining to the town, such as the public buildings, building houses in town for new settlers, or working in the fields. They are particularly charged with the ceremony of the a-ce (a decoction of the

S. [344 621]

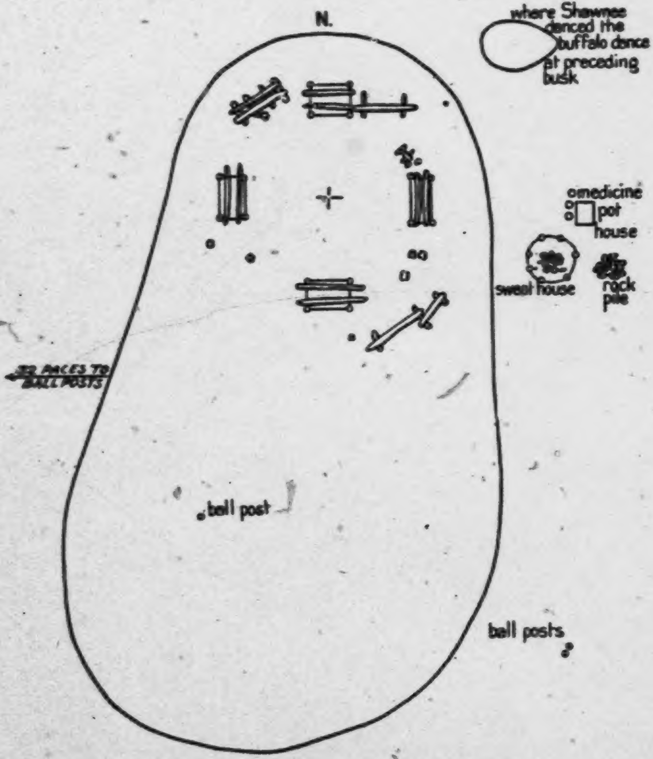

N.
where Shawnee danced the buffalo dance at preceding busk
medicine pot house
sweat house
rock pile
32 PACES TO BALL POSTS
ball post
ball posts

FIG. 98.—Chiaha Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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[23] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.

[23a] See pp. 194-195.

C. 624

cassine yupon, called by the traders black drink), under the direction of the mic-co."[24] They thus constituted a kind of Creek Department of the Interior. In some towns, in conjunction with the Bear clan, they had particular charge of the feathers used in the "feather dance." In Tukabahchee every miko, tástánági, and imala łáko was accompanied by a heniha who sat at his left, and when an official was sent on an errand a heniha had to accompany him. Since in this town the mikos and most of the tástánágis and imalas belonged to the Red clans while the busk was a peace ceremony the association of henihas with these may have been for the purpose of securing or marking the prevalence of peace. A similar custom probably prevailed in other towns, but it has generally fallen into disuse. Its vestigial character at Tuskegee is shown by the report on these officials made to Doctor Speck: "There were always two men of recognized ability in dancing, having also a knowledge of the rites,

S. [344 621]

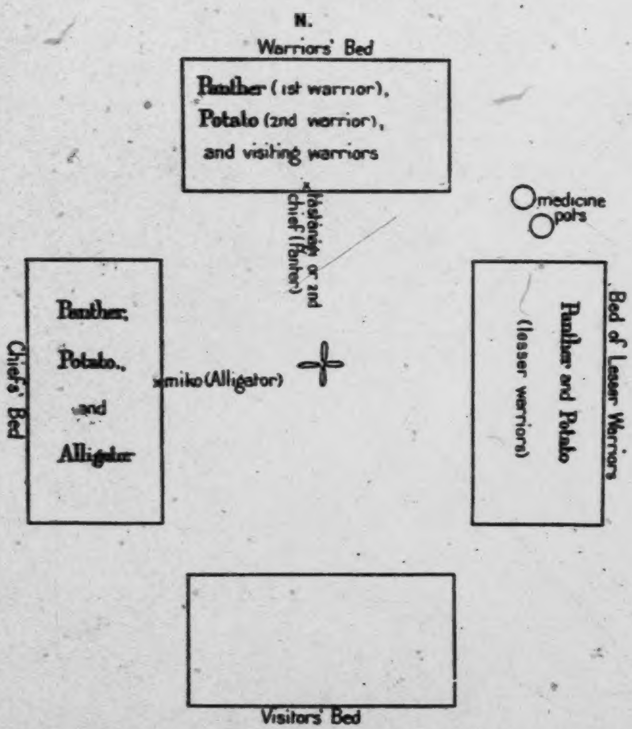
N.
Warriors' Bed
Panther (1st warrior),
Potato (2nd warrior),
and visiting warriors
tástánági or 2nd chief (Panther)
medicine pots
Chief's Bed
Panther,
Potato,
and
Alligator
miko (Alligator)
Bed of Lesser Warriors
Panther and Potato
(lesser warriors)
Visitors' Bed

FIG. 89.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (I)

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[24] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69. In Chiaha, at least, it was one of their functions to compose differences; see pp. 332, 335 in the paper following.

Seminole NN16

C. 624

S. [344 621]

who were known as *híniha*, or *híniha lákko*. Their occupation was chiefly to procure leaders for the various dances or to lead themselves, and to encourage the participants when they became fatigued." [33]

It is generally agreed that the henihálgi, along with the mikági, and the isti átca'gági, a class to be considered later, formed the council of the head miko. According to Jackson Lewis, these officials governed the entire town and laid down certain regulations which a man from the Warriors' bed was called upon to announce. According to one or two men the miko's heniha was the one who made announcements, delivered the "long talks" at the busk grounds and called out the new titles which were conferred. This may have been the case in later times when the square grounds had begun to show signs of disorganization, but I think it was not true of the organization when it was intact. On the contrary, this function seems to have been performed by the chief's yatika or interpreter.

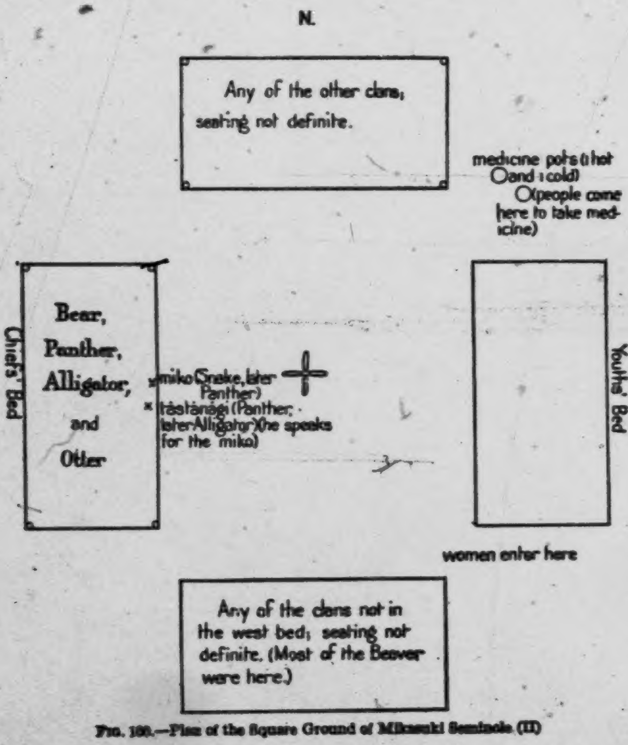
N.
Any of the other clans; seating not definite.
medicine pots (1 hot and 1 cold)
(people come here to take medicine)
Chiefs' Bed
Bear, Panther, Alligator, and Otter
miko (Snake, later Panther)
tástánági (Panther, later Alligator) (he speaks for the miko)
Youths' Bed
women enter here
Any of the clans not in the west bed; seating not definite. (Most of the Beaver were here.)

FIG. 100.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (II)

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[33] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

S.
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The yatika was chosen by preference from the clan of the chief but could be taken from any; and he usually sat beside the chief during the ceremonial so that he could interpret his wishes to the assembly. Sometimes, or during a part of the ceremony, he sat by himself. At Łiwahali he is said to have been seated in the middle of the south or Warriors' bed.

There was only one hołibonaya or "war speaker" in a town at a time, and probably some towns were without any. He was not

S.
[344
621]

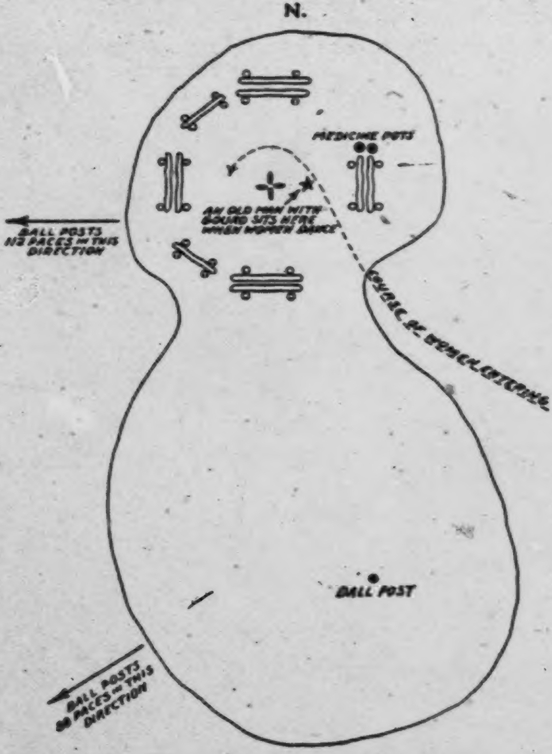
N.
MEDICINE POTS
AN OLD MAN WITH GOURD SITS HERE WHEN WOMEN DANCE
BALL POSTS 112 PACES IN THIS DIRECTION
COURSE OF WOMEN ENTERING
BALL POST
BALL POSTS 80 PACES IN THIS DIRECTION

FIG. 101.—Mikasuki Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

necessarily a warrior and was taken by preference from the clan of the chief. Hoboi-hiłyahola, however, the greatest war speaker the Creeks ever had, and one of their greatest men, belonged to the Potato clan at Tukabahchee. At Kasihta the seat of the war speaker was in the corner of the Warriors' bed nearest the bed of the chiefs. A common speaker was called Asimbonaya.

I am somewhat uncertain regarding the relations existing between the yatika and hołibonaya, for it is said of each of them that he was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll

"the best speaker in the town." The two offices may sometimes have been combined, but it is evident that they were usually distinct. 624

In Tukabahchee and all of those towns of which the ancient organization has been preserved, either in the memories of the Indians or in fact, there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the tàstànàgàlgi, the next in rank the imala łàkà'lgi, or "big imalas," and the third the imała làbotskàlgi or "little imalas." At Tukabahchee, and probably in the greater number of towns, the tàstànàgis sat at the western end of the north bed, but, as I have shown elsewhere, their position varied, and sometimes the tàstànàgis and imalas were seated in different beds. The Tukabahchee arrangement is given by Hawkins as that in Kasihta in his time. He does not indeed give the Indian names of the various grades of warriors but he states that there were three of them and that promotion was regular from lowest to highest. In most towns the tàstànàgis and imalas received their positions on account of warlike feats, not because of ancestry or clan connection. One of my informants said that a tàstànàgi was a man who "carried out the determinations of the town." The leader of the tàstànàgis was usually known as the tàstànàgi łàko, "big warrior," and Hawkins states that he was selected from among the tàstànàgis by the miko and isti àtcagàgi.[38] According to the same writer the highest title to which a warrior could aspire was that of "Great Leader" (Is-to-puc-cau-chau thlucco [isti pàkatca łàko]), which required "a long course of years and great and numerous successes in war." The head warrior of Tukabahchee was known as the Tàstànàgi simiabaiya.[38] He was privileged to call the whole town together. According to a Coweta informant, in his town the tàstànàgis were elected by the head men of the town from the Red clans, but, although it is probable that, on account of the theory regarding them, more warriors would arise from the Red than from the White clans, they were certainly not drawn exclusively from such clans. These officials all had to do with war and with the ball game which is called "the brother of the war." War, while decided upon in council, was announced by the Big Warrior. According to a Coweta informant ball games were arranged by the Big Warriors of the towns concerned, each taking such assistants as he desired, but in Kasihta there was a special official, the hałisi tàstànàgi, who attended to such matters. The Tàstànàgis were also the native police, the Big Warrior being "chief of police"; they carried out the decisions of the miko and the isti àtcagàgis, and they punished any one who

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701

[302]

624
625

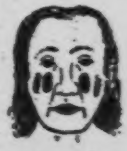

FIG. 101.—Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green

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[38] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

624
625
failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the henihas, the functions of the tástanágis became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one tástanági, who took the places of the old yatika and chief's heniha. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate mikos and the isti átcagági as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes.[illegible] They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

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701
Milfort speaks of the "tastanégy" as if he were the head war chief of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the tástanági łáko of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity."[illegible]

624
701
796
Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he was subjected when he was made tástanági is also worth reproducing. As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary tástanági, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

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[illegible] Speck, in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

[illegible] Milfort, Voy., pp. [illegible].

624
701
[493]
796

ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.[40]

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

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[40] Evidently the asi.

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entered, the six priests or medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all repaired there together. The old man who had placed me on the litter, came at once to help me descend, and placed me on a bison skin which had been prepared for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank the cassine or the tea-like drink, and for twenty-four hours they took nothing but the war medicine.

"I had not yet drunk this medicine although I had been made a little war chief and I had commanded in the place of the grand chief, because I had taken care to make for myself a particular medicine; for it is indispensable to have one in order to be assured of the confidence of the savages; but this time it was necessary to imitate the assembly, and drink the general medicine. I was not long in experiencing a strong feeling of sickness, which forced me to eject all of the medicine I had taken, and to imitate the assembly in that. This very disgusting ceremony lasted until sunrise next day. Then the entire assembly undressed, and we went, absolutely naked, into a circular cabin where the priests had gone to await us. Each of them had brought thither a brass kettle, in which they had had the war medicine boiled. Shortly afterward the subordinate chiefs brought stones which they had heated red hot in the fire in the center; and the priests, while singing, threw upon them the water which was contained in the two gourds of which I have already sopken which occasioned a dreadful heat and steam. The entire assembly was in a very profuse perspiration, and it was so great on all parts of my body that, although I was very healthy, I thought that it would be impossible to resist it. We remained in this condition about half an hour, and then part of the chiefs went out of the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all left and went immediately to throw ourselves into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without much fear that I decided to imitate the entire assembly in that; it appeared to me very dangerous in the perspiring condition in which I then was to throw myself at once into the cold water; but it was impossible for me to do otherwise, and I suffered nothing more than the fear (j'en fus quitte pour la peur). I think, however, that the purgation which I had undergone in drinking the war medicine, prevented the ill effects of such a bath. On going out of the water, where we remained only a short time, each one dressed himself, and we returned to the grand cabin, in which a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to enter the square in the grand cabin, to dance around the fire, which burned continually during the entire period of this ceremony, lasting three days, during which no member of the assembly was allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, or to sleep. I was so much the more under obligations to remain there with the assembly, as it was for me alone that the ceremony took place.

"I was seated in a distinguished place, and I had priests on both sides; if I happened to get drowsy, one threw fresh water in my face, and the other rubbed it with little stones, which he had taken care to put into some water beside me for this purpose. 624 701 796

"The three days having elapsed I was conducted home in the same manner as had been observed in bringing me to the grand cabin. When we arrived there the oldest chief proclaimed my appointment, and informed me that I was now the first sentinel of the nation, at whose voice all of the young warriors were prepared to march; that the ordeals through which I had just passed, had for their object to make me understand that nothing must cause my zeal to relax, and that I must bear with equal courage cold, heat, and hunger, in order to defend the interests of the nation. When the old man had finished the assembly broke up, and each person returned to his home."[41]

The imalas were of course of less importance; in the progressive decline of Creek institutions few towns have retained them, and many people have forgotten there ever was such a class of officials. By one informant an imala was described as "a man whose advice was worth receiving anywhere." I was told that at Tukabahchee the big imalas were called into council by the Chiefs along with the tàstànàgis on rare occasions, but this was never done in the case of the little imalas. Nevertheless a question might be referred from the town council to the tàstànàgis to be considered by them and all of the imalas in a separate council. The imalas acted in general as assistants and messengers for the tàstànàgis, and performed the smaller services. 624

Below the imalas were the tàsikayàlgi. This word is now used in the general sense of "citizens" but it means "warriors" and originally designated the common warriors, those who had received busk names but as yet had done nothing to merit further promotion. Hawkins says of them: "The second class of warriors [he treats the tàstànàgis and imalas as one class] is the Tusse-ki-ul-gee. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co, or *war name.*"[42] It would seem, therefore, that the name tàsikayàlgi applied to all those in the fourth bed and that tàsikayàlgi intupa might very well be a synonym for tcibànàgàlgi intupa, "youths' bed," the term usually given to it nowadays. As a matter of fact I find it used for that very bed by the Nuyaka Indians. 624 701

There is one other class of officials to be noted and this an important one, but a class which has fallen so much into abeyance 624 that it is now difficult to determine its exact status and functions. It is the class of isti ȧtcagȧgi, "revered," "sacred" or "beloved men." We are assisted in forming some conception of them, fortunately, by Hawkins, who, in his account of the Kasihta square, calls the south bed the "is-te-chague-ul-gee in-too-pau, the cabin of the beloved men," and he describes these men from whom it was named thus:

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[41] Milfort, Voy., pp. 220-226.

[42] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

"There are great men who have been war leaders, and who although of various ranks, have become estimable in a long course of public service. They sit themselves on the right division of the cabin of the Mic-co, and are his counsellors. The family of the Mic-co, and great men who have thus distinguished themselves, occupy this cabin of the beloved men."[43]

I was told that these men are the "foundation" of the busk, by which I understand it is meant that they furnish the brains that keeps the busk alive and in proper order. In fact some old Hilibi Indians referred to them as "the brains of the busk." They are exempt from taking any part in the duties, dances, etc., connected with the busk except the taking of the medicines. The same Indians stated that they held meetings in advance and planned the preparation of the beds, the camps, and every part of the program. There were only a few in each town. In Tukabahchee there were four in the north bed, four in the south bed, and four in the east bed, and each of these had a leader. The four in the south bed were called isti ȧtcagȧgi sûlga, and they belonged to the Raccoon clan, that of the miko. The others were taken from different clans. Jackson Lewis stated that the isti ȧtcagȧgi were of the same clan as the miko, or of related clans, but this statement could have applied only to the isti ȧtcagȧgi sûlga. In Tukabahchee the name of each was a title borne in succession by each person elected to fill the position after the death of the previous incumbent. Kealedji was organized much like Tukabahchee, but the isti ȧtcagȧgi sûlga sat at the south end of the Chiefs' bed instead of in the south bed. At Łaplȧko there were a few isti ȧtcagȧgi in the west or Chiefs' bed. At Łȧlogȧlga there was until lately one isti ȧtcagȧgi, a Panther, I believe. At Talladega there were about three in each of the three beds of the town. In the square of the Western Abihka town there were four isti ȧtcagȧgi in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the bed belonging to the Wind clan; also some in the west bed. In this town it was the isti ȧtcagȧgi who arranged ball games. My informant regarding the Kan-tcati ground said that there were none of these officials there in his time. In Otciapofa there were four isti ȧtcagȧgi to each of the three beds. At Okfuskee there were two isti ȧtcagȧgi in the east bed and one in each of the others.

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[43] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 70-71.

At Upper Eufaula there was one of these men in each of the three beds, the one in the north belonging to the Bear clan, that in the east to the Deer clan, and that in the south to the Aktayatci clan. These men gave new names to boys. In Wiogufki there were no isti átcagági, and only one tástánági, who performed the functions of those officials. When the last Hitchiti square ground was organized the tástánágis and imałas were used in place of the isti átčagági. In Alabama their place was taken by the tástánágis alone. According to one of my informants, in Pakan tallahassee the Bird clan was used as isti átcagági, and the Wind clan is said to have performed their functions in Okchai. At Łiwahali they appointed the tástánágis.

At Tuskegee they seem to have lost their official position. "A man who amassed property," says Speck; "or raised himself in public esteem by other means was called *isti adjáqa*, 'man beloved.' No civil office, however, was indicated by this title, but those bearing it occupied a certain place in the lodges about the square. In a general way 'beloved men' also means those who have observed all the dietary taboos of the ceremonies, and even, in its broadest sense, those who have undergone the purging and taken their part in the religious performances."[44]

Putting together the fact, apparent in most towns of which we have information, that the isti átcagági were scattered about in the different beds with what Hawkins tells us and the small items of information that may still be gathered it is fairly plain who these "beloved men" were. They were evidently the elders or veterans of the town who had passed through the various degrees of advancement but were probably not fit for active field service against an enemy. Their experience was, however, of maximum value to the community, and hence they governed the busk and were custodians of information regarding this and regarding the lore of the tribe generally. Therefore they were at the same time counsellors to the chief and the more active officials. Although the henihálgi are now generally regarded as the chief's counsellors there is evidence that anciently they occupied a position of less prominence in this regard than the isti átcagági. It will be noticed that Hawkins gives their name to the bed usually called after the henihas, while he actually seats them in a position in the chiefs' bed which the henihas often occupied. It is true that in many towns tástánágis have assumed their places but this is a result of a still further collapse of the old social organization, isti átcagági having given way first to henihálgi and both later to tástánágálgi. The "beloved men," it should be remembered, were neither devoted entirely to war nor entirely to peace, and therefore their functions could very well fall in part to the peace officials and in part to the war officials. It seems to have

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[44] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

624 been this class which was pointed out to Milfort as the real rulers of the Creek nation when he inquired for their "king."[45]

624 Particular attention should be called to the differentiation of the
isti átcagági belonging to the clan of the chiefs as isti átcagági sûlga
614 in Tukabahchee and elsewhere. This differentiation indicates the invasion of the clan and hereditary ideas into an institution mainly based on merit. I do not mean that it necessarily represents a later development, yet it was the side of the institution which became more pronounced in later times. Even an informant as old as Jackson Lewis, in describing the isti átcagági—probably as recognized in Eufaula—says that the term was applied to the men of the same clan as that of the town chief or to men of related clans. He adds that they sat in the central part of the north bed and embraced those who would succeed to the chieftaincy. As we have seen, they were not solely of the royal clan, but it is probably true that those who happened to belong in this group often became chiefs. In Pakan tallahassee and Okchai the hereditary tendency has gone so far that the term is applied to members of the Bird and Wind clans, respectively. It is to be added that the same evolution has taken place with another merit group, the tástánágis. At old Abihka near Eufaula I was told that the Raccoon clan were the tástánágis, at Kan-tcati the tástánágis were of the Panther clan, and at Lutcapoga and Łikatcka of the Aktayatci. At Mikasuki part of the Panther clan is called the "first warriors," part of the Potato clan the "second warriors," and parts of both the "lesser warriors." Nothing could show the decline of the system better than the idea expressed by one of my informants that all of the occupants of a certain bed were at the same time tástánágis, tcilokis, and hènihas. In Tukabahchee, where the old system is still partially in force, it yet happens that most of the tástánágis belong to the Raccoon or royal clan, most of the big imalas to the Potato, and most of the little imalas to the Panther and Bear. It must be remembered, however, that the two first classes were accompanied at the busk by henihas of the Wind clan. We find, furthermore, that certain clans from the Red side are particularly associated with war and often sit in the same bed as the warriors from whom many of their members were chosen, and no doubt this is the real reason why they came in time to be confounded with them. As shown elsewhere, the clans principally associated with war and oftenest seated in the Warriors' bed were the Panther, Deer, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci.[45a] Regarding the Panther, I have evidence that there was a mental association of the characteristics of the animal with the occupation, and I was told in the case of the lesser imalas among the Tukabahchee that they were taken from the Panther and Bear because those two animals have a fierce

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[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. [illegible]

[45a] See p. [illegible].

disposition—and this in spite of the almost universal classification of 624
the Bear as a peace clan. Further evidence of degeneration is shown 614
in some of the Seminole towns in Oklahoma where a singe tástánági has usurped the functions of both the chief's heniha and the miko apokta.

At Tukabahchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns 624
as well, the isti átcagági, the tástánágis, and some of the other classes 554
bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a share in its government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seen to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war. When it was in its prime it is probable that merit vastly overbalanced, the isti átcagágis, tástánágis, imalas, and tásikayas having owed their positions mainly, at least, to individual accomplishments. Although the mikági and henihálgi had to do with peace mainly, they had gone through with the war discipline and had been selected from among the warriors. While they must always belong to certain clans they were, beyond that restriction, elective, and, as these clans were usually numerous, a considerable choice could be exercised. While it is true that the legislative and executive power was vested in a small number of people these were persons who had, for the most part, worked their way up by their talents and bravery, and were really representative of the native ideals of what was highest and most worthy. A power of recall was also exercised in the case of the chief and it is probable that we should find that the same power existed in effect over the other offices. A separation of governmental functions had begun in some particulars, the henihas being a kind of Department of the Interior concerned with the pursuits of peace, and the various classes of warriors, particularly the tástánágis, a department concerned with war, and also constituting an internal police.

Speck is the only authority for the use of face paintings to mark 554
differences in rank. He says: 302

"Facial painting was employed to indicate rank in the town. Persons bearing the title of *míko* or *híniha* wore black paint on one side of the face and red on the other, coloring either the whole face or only the space around the eyes. The second pattern belonged to ordinary initiated men having the title *taskáya* and consisted of four stripes, from the cheek-bone to the angle of the jaw, alternating in red and yellow."[48]

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[48] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

554 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck derived this information, was the one where I learned about face 302 paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say: "The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti àtcagági] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the ā-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the àsi was the prerogative of the henihálgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the àsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been 614 referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the 623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

619 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has 631 been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets 642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

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[47] See p. 268.

[48] See p. 436.

[49] The game described on pp. 469-470.

[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.

[51] See p. 293.

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came to be known to the white people as Upper and Lower Creeks. While the confederation appears to have originated with the Lower Creek towns Kasihta and Coweta, the Upper Creeks were more numerous and naturally demanded recognition. One of the largest and most powerful Upper Creek towns was Tukabahchee, which early entered upon terms of friendship with Coweta and soon came to be considered as the head war town of the Upper Creeks. To complete the mythic number four and to include a White town from among the Upper Creeks, Abihka was added to these,[53] and the four were regarded as the "foundation towns" of the confederacy, Coweta and Kasihta being, respectively, the head war and peace towns of the Lower Creeks and Tukabahchee and Abihka the head war and peace towns of the Upper Creeks. There is said to have been a great deal of social rivalry between them. Each of these four towns also had a ceremonial title. Coweta was called Coweta mȧhmā'yȧgi, "tall or high Coweta;" Kasihta, Kasihta łȧko, "Big Kasihta;" Tukabahchee, Tukabahchee spokogi; and Abihka, Abihka nȧgi. The meaning of the Abihka title is unknown, but since Abihka was the frontier town against the Cherokee and Chickasaw, its people were also called "the door shutters." For, as Jackson Lewis explained, enemies encountered them first, and if they were conquered it was as if the enemy had opened the gates to enter the Creek country. Several different interpretations are given of the name Spokogi or Ispokogi. According to Jackson Lewis, it signified that Tukabahchee had an oversight of and care for the other towns much as a hen broods over her chickens. Another informant said that it meant "a great people," and a third "to hold everything strongly." It appears to have been given particularly to the beings who came to the Tukabahchee Indians from the world above (see p. 65). According to one story, the sacred copper and brass plates of the Tukabahchee were also sent down from above and given to the Shawnee who handed them over to the Ispokogi. This particular tradition perhaps furnishes a clue to the name, which may have been derived from that band of Shawnee known as Kispokoke. I shall show elsewhere that there is some reason to think the name Muskogee itself is of Shawnee origin, and there is as much reason to attribute this word to the same source. It may have been allowed to or conferred upon the Tukabahchee in ways common among Indians by the Kispokoke band of Shawnee and its origin afterwards forgotten.

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In the rating of the four capital towns Abihka is always last, but the position of the other three appears to have changed from time to time. To-day Upper Creeks will generally tell you that Tukabahchee

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[53] The Indian agent Mitchell gave the name of the fourth town as "Oscooches," but this can not be identified with any known Creek town. It may have been intended for Abihkutci. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 95.)

619 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta.
Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in whic
631 it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes ba
into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents i
becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief a the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he ha as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoüita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqùi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another."[54]

619 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the
early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugu-
631 rated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the
Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably
642 disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials
648 strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In
177 a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing, beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

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[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1755, Ms.

619 town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little
631 Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was
referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the
642 state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that
648 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the
Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tusku-
177 muggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary.
It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

423 A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the
642 volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by
Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in conse-
648 quence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand,
539 the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hił yahola,
who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

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[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575.

[56] Ibid., p. 786.

423 missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same
642 way, but not to sell the land."[57]

648 It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hił yahola does not deny the headship of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of
539 Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

619 But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe
631 Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was
642 the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

642 Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an
646 estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

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[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 282.

[58] French Ms. of 1755.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlocotcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Łikatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

cabin made expressly for the purpose; each one places himself there 642
in accordance with his rank, and has a right to speak in his turn 646
according to his age, his capacity, his wisdom, and the service which he has rendered to the fatherland.

"The Grand Chief of the tribe opens the session in a speech which recounts the history or the tradition of their country; he recalls the military exploits of his ancestors who have signalized themselves in the defense of the fatherland, exhorting his subjects to imitate their virtues, by bearing patiently human wants and miseries, above everything in not murmuring at all against the Great Spirit, who is master of the life of all the beings here below; and in sustaining adversities with courage; finally in sacrificing all for love of the fatherland and liberty; it being a thousand times more glorious to die like a true man than to live as a vile slave.

"The chief having stopped speaking, the oldest noble old man rises, salutes his sovereign, and makes a speech, his body bare to the belt; the water runs from all parts of his body, on account of the heat and the action which he puts into his declamation, with natural gestures and metaphors which express his thought; he persuades his hearers to believe all that he says by the force and eloquence of his speech. Nothing is more instructive than these assemblies; one hears no chatter there, no indecency, no misplaced plaudits, nor immoderate laughter. The young people are very circumspect there, and attentive to listen with respect to the words of the old men, persuaded that it is for their good."[80]

Other evidence contradicts the statement that there was any one capital of the nation, and we know that the council house was nothing more than the tcokofa of the town in which the assembly happened to take place. Nevertheless Coweta and Tukabahchee, particularly the former, seem to have been favorite meeting places, facts indicated by Milfort in several places. The following description by him has particular reference to an assembly in Coweta:

"The assemblies of the nation usually take place in the principal 642
town. In the center of this town is outlined a perfect and very 342
extensive square; in each angle of this square are constructed three
cabins of different sizes, forming in all twelve cabins. This square 646
has four openings by which its center may be reached, and all of the cabins are so close together that from one of them one can see into all of the others. Each of them may hold from forty to sixty persons.

"That of the grand chief of the nation faces the rising sun, to indicate that he ought always to watch over the interests of the nation. At one side of this cabin, and in the same angle, is that called the grand cabin, where the general assemblies of the nation are held.

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[80] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 70-72.

642 342 646 "In the angle opposite are three other cabins; these belong to the old men, and face the setting sun, to indicate that they are on the decline, and that they must no longer march to battle. In the two other angles are the cabins of the different chiefs of the nation; they are larger or smaller according to the services they have rendered.

"All these cabins are painted red with the exception of the three facing the setting sun, which are always white, symbol of virtue and age.

"The cabins painted red are, in time of war, ornamented with many pieces of wood by way of decoration, which support a kind of chain made of wooden rings. This is a sign of sadness, informing the warriors that the motherland has need of them, and that they must be prepared to march at the first signal. In time of peace these links are replaced with garlands of ivy leaves.

"The three cabins of the old men are at all times ornamented with these garlands, mingled with flowers."

He adds that the square was very large, and then proceeds as follows:

642 646 "I have already said that the chiefs of the nation must assemble every year in the month of May, and consider everything of importance to the nation, both internally and externally. When they are all at the rendezvous, called the grand cabin, of which I have just spoken, the assembly is called to order; and, when it is called to order (*formée*), none of those who compose it can go out from its compass until all of the business of the nation is concluded. The president alone may absent himself for some minutes; but he is obliged, like all of the others, to pass his days and nights in the assembly, and to be present at all of the deliberations.

"During the period of the assembly no one is allowed to approach the grand cabin nearer than twenty paces. Only the chiefs of the warriors are admitted there; the subordinate chiefs who are present are intended to serve the others, but they have no voice in the deliberations. The women are charged with the duty of preparing the necessary food and drink for the assembly; the subordinate chiefs go to fetch the provisions and place them in their turn in the grand cabin for the members of the assembly.

"In the center of the square formed by the cabin, a fire is lighted which burns continually. At sunset the young people of both sexes assemble, and come to dance around this fire until an appointed hour; during this time the assembly separates, and each member repairs, if he desires, to the cabin appropriate to the rank which he has received; or he remains in the grand cabin, and there enjoys the dance and the amusements of the young people; but without being allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, so long as the business is not entirely concluded. When the dances, which must last for a limited time only, are terminated, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, each of the members rests in the cabin which belongs to his class; but as soon as the sun appears above the horizon, a drum calls all of the chiefs to the assembly, which remains in session until sunset.[61] 142 646

In another place he makes certain amplifications regarding the time when such conventions took place. He says:

"These assemblies, which I have attended for twenty years, are held usually at the end of April or the beginning of May, as I have already said. To them are carried complaints and demands of all kinds, where the interests of the entire nation and its allies are discussed and regulated. They are held sometimes in the month of September, before they separate to go hunting, but then they are not general, few interesting things happen, and strangers are rarely present."[62]

Milfort is almost the only writer who gives a hint regarding the manner in which the chiefs and officials of the various towns were seated. It is probable that their individual merit often outweighed the numerical importance of the town.

Speaking in these assemblies was a high art and was, next to success in war, the major means of social advancement. Religious sentiment was attached to it, and before a public speech the Creek speaker used to spit four times with deliberation and repeat a formula. The oratorical language was full of metaphorical allusions, and irony and satire were resorted to rather than denunciation. Says Adair: 537 [554]

"I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches—and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomohawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing; and, lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, 'Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.' They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoòp, and struck up the solemn, awful song, *Yó*, etc."[63] [726]

And in another place:

"Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver

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[61] Milfort, Mém., pp. [illegible].

[62] Ibid., pp. [illegible].

[63] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 64.

537 a very pathetic, elaborate, allegorical, tragic oration, in the high praise, and for the great loss, of their great, judicious war-chieftain, *Shu-las-hum-másh-tà-be*, our daring, brave friend, *red shoes.* The orator compared him to the sun, that enlightens and enlivens the whole system of created beings: and having carried the metaphor to a considerable length, he expiated on the variety of evils, that necessarily result from the disappearance and absence of the sun; and, with a great deal of judgment, and propriety of expression, he concluded his oration with the same trope, with which he began."[64]

642 Stiggins tells us that the confederate council was in reality without power. He says:

"The form of Government under which they live is a tyrannical oligarchy in its principles and practiced under that head to the full extent. At a slight view the most of people suppose and say that it is a democracy on republican principles but it is far different, for all public business whether of a national or private character is done by the chiefs. Though the nation is summoned in what is termed their grand council, when the state of the nation is supposed to be examined into, and their oral laws made, the assembly say not a word in the matter. For while in their sittings the assembled body of the nation sit as mutes, without being consulted in any manner until a few chiefs in their council house make the laws for their government without condescending to ask an opinion or approbation in any case, the national body being merely convened to hear what is done, for after a law is digested by the chiefs the national convention is informed of its tendency by the orator of the nation in a very exact and precise manner, who moreover informs them of all that has been transacted, which new law when they are made acquainted with its tendency, let it be as it may, they are the most obedient subjects under the sun to the penalties of it, be it oppressive or not. Should they infringe the law they will suffer beating, confiscation of their property or even death without a murmur or family resentment. Moreover, should an Indian be obstreperous in contending for his right of property or otherwise or obtrude on the right or even interests of a chief, the chiefs can so far tyrannize after a consultation as to have him beaten or slain, as a common disturber of the peace, without any other imputation of guilt than a law breaker as they term it.

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"In former days in the time of their self importance and undisturbed government, before an agent was located in the nation by the U. S. to improve their morals and reform their customs, their ordained chiefs were more rude, active, and despotic and more frequent in their mandates of tyranny, and not near so uniform and circumspect in their deportment as now toward the common men. In later years the principal chiefs or great men of the nation have been

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[64] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 11.

increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."[65] 642 648 177

In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikâgi Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[66] 642 646 631

Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."[67]

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says: 642 631 643

"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

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[65] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 13-15.

[66] Ibid., p. 15.

[67] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575.

642 631 643 Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

642 631 622 "After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of $150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

642 646 "The general council for business is composed of the two principal chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them." [a]

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

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[a] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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chiefs, and their legislature or council of about forty minor chiefs or captains, who are also, *ex officio*, justices of the peace." [69]

The economic causes operating to increase the number of chiefs, to which reference was made above, are indicated in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of September 15, 1851, by Philip H. Raiford, agent of the Creek Indians. He says:

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"The rude and irresponsible form of government by chiefs still prevails among them. The chiefs all receive salaries in proportion to their grade and rank, or, in other words, a larger share of the common fund of the tribe than the great mass of the Indians. The result of this system has been a great increase in the number of chiefs, until they now amount to about eight hundred, or one to every twenty-five souls; and, as the moneys due from the Government to the tribe are now paid to the chiefs, and they have it in their power to fix their own salaries, a large portion of the funds of the nation is divided out among themselves, and but little left for the great mass. Great wrong and injustice are thus done to the common Indians; and, as they are beginning to perceive and become dissatisfied with the system, and the evil continues to increase by the increase of chiefs, the result before long will inevitably be serious—internal dissentions and difficulties, if not strife and bloodshed, between the chiefs and their partisans on the one hand, and the common Indians on the other, unless the Government interposes some remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs." [70]

The word "chief" as employed by Mr. Raiford evidently does not refer merely to the class of mikâgi. Apparently it included the principal mikos, the isti âtcagâgi, and the leading henihas and tástânâgis. We are not to suppose that the great increase in the number of chiefs of which this agent speaks was due to a desire on the part of the chiefs to share their privileges; it was rather for the purpose of securing those privileges by taking into partnership all who might have been powerful enough to endanger them. Another Indian agent, James Logan, writing some years before, in 1845, speaks of the abuse as follows:

"The annuity, amounting to [$]34,500, is paid to the principal chiefs of both [Upper and Lower Creeks], and equally divided between them, and by them distributed. . .[71] The chiefs appropriate the whole of this large amount to the pay of themselves and their subordinates. This mode of distributing it is much complained of by the intelligent portion of the community, who are now far from being inconsiderable, and the right thus arrogated by the chiefs of doing what they please with the annuity much questioned. But they are vested with so much power, and have inspired so much awe and fear

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[69] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.

[70] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851, p. 122.

[71] The writer refers here to an unpublished document for confirmation.

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in the minds of the people generally, that they are restrained from making a public expression upon the subject. Indeed, I question very much whether there could be found many who would, before them, say that they objected to their acts in any particular. This I have sought for in regard to the annuity, and have failed to accomplish, owing to the preponderance of the chiefs and law makers, etc., and to the cause above stated."[72]

The abuse became so great that payments were finally made directly to the heads of families and the old privileges of the chiefs abolished. They suffered the same fate that betook the ringleaders in a certain conspiracy formed not long ago by some of the members and employees of a large corporation. In order to keep what was going on quiet, it was necessary to let more and more into the ring, 642 which finally became so large that the secret leaked. The oligarchic character of the Creek federal government as revealed by Stiggins and these Indian agents clashes rather oddly with what Adair says of its democratic character, but evidently the government of the confederacy was farther removed from the masses of the people than the government of the towns, and with the disappearance of war positions came to be held less on account of merit and more because of family connection and personal "pull." In the erection of a federal government over and above the former tribal governments the mass of the people had not succeeded in holding firmly to the reins of power; still such great abuses would probably not have arisen had it not been for the decline of the merit element in promotions and the cupidity excited by United States Government annuities.

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The most complete account of the general council as it existed after the removal to Oklahoma was furnished Schoolcraft by Mr. D. W. Eakins, whom Schoolcraft describes as "for some time a resident of the Territory now occupied by them west of the State of Arkansas." These facts were "communicated in reply to printed inquiries issued in 1847, respecting the History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

The answers covering this subject may very well be run together.

"The general council of the Creek Indians consists of a representation from the whole tribe, as divided into towns. This council, composed of the chiefs, is vested with *plenary* power, to act for the whole tribe. Their *verbal summons* or decisions, have all the force of a written document; these decisions are announced in general council; and also recorded by the clerk. Their authority, (as among the principal chiefs,) is often assumed. Their authority is delegated to them, (in many cases,) by virtue of their standing and influence. They are at all times open to popular opinion, and are the mere exponents of it. The power of the chiefs in council is unlimited. Their decisions are absolute.

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[72] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 514-517.

"The principal chiefs are chosen by the general council; and now, are not chosen so much for their renowned deeds, as their civil and popular qualifications. Their term of office continues during good behavior. The disapproval of the body of the people is an effective bar to the exercise of their powers and functions.

"The chiefs, in public council, speak the opinions and sentiments of the warriors. They consult the priests, old men, and young men composing the tribe, in local matters. Sometimes they are subject to be influenced by extraneous opinions. In many cases they pursue the interests of the people with shrewdness and intensity. In their councils, their decisions are generally determined by the opinions of the leading chiefs; their *dictum* generally influences the mass. The right to sit in council, is, nominally, equivalent to giving a *vote*. The *ayes* and *noes*, if counted, would be by the clerk. Casting the vote, however, has not been introduced among the Creeks. The opinions of the leading chiefs generally regulate the decisions of the council. Powers are sometimes exercised by the chiefs, in advance of public opinion; but anything gross or outrageous would be indignantly repelled.

"The public or general councils are opened with a good deal of ceremony. The principal chiefs first enter and take their seats. The next in order then enter, and addressing themselves to the whole body, ask: 'Are you all present, my friends?' They then take their seats. The principal chief, rising from his seat, presents to the second chief, his tobacco; and this interchange takes place throughout the whole assembly. These interchanges having been gone through with, they next speak about their domestic affairs. Then local matters; after which they proceed to business. Their business is conducted irregularly, daily, and generally, by the position of the sun. The principal chief adjourns the council to the appointed time next day. Before the close of their deliberations, the two bodies agree upon a day of adjournment. At the appointed time for adjournment, the two bodies come together. The second chiefs, rising first, address themselves to the first chiefs, telling them 'they are going to leave them.' They then seat themselves, the whole council following in regular order, according to their grade. The principal chiefs, then rising, say, 'We return home.' There is still some respect paid to ancient ceremonies. Regard is paid to the weather in their deliberations. They have two national clerks and one United States, and one national interpreter. All questions are considered with more or less deliberation. Decisions are sometimes made upon the principle of majorities, and sometimes forced by the opinions of the leading chiefs. There are no cases that require absolute unanimity. There may be cases in which the voice of a leading chief might be taken as the will of the tribe.

646 622 "Decisions made by the chiefs in council are carried into effect implicitly. In cases of capital punishment, the executioner is selected from a body of men called 'the Light Horse.' He uses neither tomahawk, club, nor arrow. The gun is generally selected as the instrument of execution. If the culprit has no choice of place for execution, the executioner may appoint the place, which is generally selected with reference to a convenience for burial. In case of the restoration of property, a messenger is sent to the parties. There is, however, no regularity on this subject.

"In case of a vacancy by death or otherwise, the office is filled by the selection of the General Council. Sometimes the vacancy is filled by the town to which the chief belonged, and then brought before the General Council for sanction. In case of a vacancy among the leading chiefs, the vacancy is filled by the General Council. The chiefs may be deposed from office for gross outrage." [78]

646 622 177 Logan, the agent quoted above, furnishes the following additional information about the Creek government of his time:

"Each party [i. e., both the Upper and Lower Creeks] has its own head chief, etc. Roly McIntosh, the chief of the Lower Towns, is also vested with the dignity of head chief of the nation, and he presides as such in the general council of the nation, which generally convenes once a year, but at no particular period. Its deliberations are confined to subjects exclusively national, and which affect both parties in common. Those subjects having reference to their own party concerns meet the action of their own councils, which are held separate and distinct, and in which neither interferes with the other. They are conducted precisely similar, and are composed of the chiefs and law-makers of the different towns (or more properly clans) adhering to each party. These chiefs are generally selected from the older citizens. In point of intelligence, they cannot compare with private individuals, who generally do not desire such dignities. Generally speaking they are extremely ignorant, are noted for their superstitious bigotry, for their old customs and ceremonies, and most bitter prejudices against all measures calculated to reform the condition or enlighten the minds of their people. There are, however, a few honorable exceptions, but they are far in the minority, and their councils have but little weight. They are opposed to [the Christian] religion and education, more particularly the former, conceiving very justly that it has a tendency to lessen their authority, and to abolish their old rites and ceremonies, of which they are particularly tenacious. They have gone so far this year as to exact a fine of from two dollars to three and a half dollars a head upon all non-attendants at their 'busks,' green corn dances, etc., or who do not drink the physic, a most nauseous compound of poisonous weeds. Their authority is often exerted arbitrarily, and their laws are unjust and unnecessarily severe. It is a standing law of the nation, 'if any person preach or hold religious meetings, whether white or red, he shall for the first offence receive fifty lashes on his bare back, and for the second offence one hundred lashes.' To maintain their authority, they support, out of the annuity, an immense number of subordinates, known as law-makers, light horse, etc. The people stand in much awe of them, and blindly pay them the obedience they exact; they have no voice in their appointment nor in their acts: when a vacancy occurs, the place is filled not by an election, but by the nomination made by some noted chief."[74] 646 622 177

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[78] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, pp. 275-277.

Logan is decidedly too severe in his criticisms of the conservative party who were in the nature of things bound to be opposed to the spirit of innovation of which he was a part. While the nature and amount of the fines exacted from those who absented themselves from the busk were no doubt determined at the council of which he speaks, the principle was by no means new.

The practical effect of the Confederate government on the bulk of the people was probably about as indicated in the following lines intended to apply to southern confederacies generally: 642

"Every town is independent of another. Their own friendly compact continues the union. An obstinate war leader will sometimes commit acts of hostility, or make peace for his own town, contrary to the good liking of the rest of the nation. But a few individuals are very cautious of commencing war on small occasions, without the general consent of the head men: for should it prove unsuccessful, the greater part would be apt to punish them as enemies, because they abused their power, which they had only to do good to the society.[75]

Councils in which all of the towns, or as many of them as chose to do so, took part were certainly held at a period as early as an organization existed that could be called a Creek confederacy, but they seem to have been at irregular intervals and at no determined place. And as we have seen, the Lower Creeks and the Upper Creeks each had an independent council. It is likely that, if we could examine some of these old councils we should find a certain regular method of seating the different chiefs, and a certain procedure, but only the above scraps of information regarding them have come down to us. In Adair's time we learn that the French at Fort Toulouse in the forks of the Alabama River endeavored to foment civil war among the Muskogee especially through the hold they had on the small tribes other than Muskogee about their fort, but the Creek chiefs in council compelled them to desist.[76] In the Georgia colonial documents we read of a number of councils. One of these was represented by nine towns, of which two belonged to the Lower Creeks and seven to the Upper Creeks. Another was attended by 21 towns, of which 6 were Lower towns and the balance Upper. At a council of Lower 642 646

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[74] James Logan in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 515-516.

[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 428.

[76] Ibid., pp. [illegible].

642 646 Creeks 4 towns were represented. A conference at Savannah was attended by 16 Upper Creek towns. At Oglethorpe's first council with the Creeks 9 Lower Creek towns were represented and no Upper Creek towns. Another council was attended by 12 Upper Creek towns, and still another by 8 from the same section. There are two other notices of meetings held by the Upper Creeks alone and one held by the Lower Creeks. This brings out clearly the separation existing between the Upper and the Lower Creeks. We also find a note to the effect that the towns of Coweta, Hitchiti, Osochi, "Nipky," Chiaha, Kasihta, and Tuskegee had declared Coweta miko their chief, a statement which certainly shows the primacy of Coweta among the Lower Creeks. The Tuskegee, or part of them, were probably with the Lower Creeks at that time.[77] Two of these councils of which we have a record were held in Tulsa, one in Okchai, one in Apalachicola, and one in Chiaha. Whether accidentally or otherwise it thus happens that all but the last were in White towns.

642 631 622 A Spanish document dating from 1793 or 1794 contains a list of chiefs, with the town to which each belonged, whom it was thought advisable to invite to a general conference at Pensacola. This list, which is as follows, gives an idea of the towns thought worthy of representation on such an occasion and in some degree the relative importance in which those invited were held:

Kellessechuppo, or Beard	of the Broken Arrow.
Cowabbe, or Little Prince	
Hycat, or Cussitaw King	of the Cussitaws.
Bird Tail King	
Hollowing King	of the Cowitaws.
Young Lieutenant	
Philatouchy	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
Cochmans Brother	
George Cousins	of the Eauphallies.
John Kennard and his Uncle	of the Hitchetes.
Mad Dog	of the Tuckabatches.
Beaux Banter	
Half Breed	of the Ockfuskies.
McKay's Friend	of the Abacouchies.
Tallessey King	[of Tulsa?]
White King	of the Hicklawallies [Holiwahali].
Dog Warrior	of the Upper Towns.
Wockucoy King	[of Wakokai?].
Wiokee King	[of Wiwohka?].
Mawmouth	of the Keyalegies.
One head man	from James Leslie's Town [Natchez?].
Bryen Molton or One head man	from the Tuskeegy.
McPherson	Little Tallesseys.
Upoimico	
Red Shoes	[of the Alabama and Koasati?].
One head man	from the Fussachees.
One ditto	from the Coolamy.
One ditto	from the White Ground.
One ditto	from the Ottossay.[78]

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[77] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 210-211.

[78] Copy of Ms. in the Ayer Library, Newberry Library, Chicago.

Writing in 1791, Swan says:

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"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [79]

It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

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The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łalogalga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

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[79] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

642 others, such as the Utina, Potano, and Apalachee of Florida, and
648 the Chiaha, Tali, Mobile, and many more farther north. It is even
177 uncertain whether at that date any sort of confederacy existed. As time went on, however, the Florida tribes were destroyed or scattered, and the same fate overtook the Yamasee, the Indians of the Georgia coast, and the smaller tribes in the neighborhood of South Carolina. This served to increase the power of the Creeks proper, both by weakening that of their neighbors and by causing many fugitive tribes to unite with them and add to their fighting force. Leaving out of consideration the Hitchiti, Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, who were incorporated almost before the dawn of clear history, we have very exact information of the incorporation of the Yuchi, which had formerly been an independent and hostile tribe, of part of the Shawnee, and of the remnant of the Natchez. This system of adoption resulted in the strengthening of the confederacy about in proportion to the weakening of its neighbors, until finally but one tribe remained, the Choctaw, able to contend with it on anything like equal terms. This latter, it is to be noted, owed its strength not so much to incorporation of fugitive elements as to a location where it was for a long time protected against European encroachment, intensive cultivation of the soil, and an unwarlike disposition—all contributing to a steadily mounting population. The Choctaw government was very feebly centralized for the same reason until very late times when it was much strengthened as a result of constant attacks on the part of Chickasaw and Creek enemies. The Creeks, on the other hand, had adopted their federal union very early, probably in part as the result of pressure from without, and as this pressure was increased by the approach of white settlements the sense of danger tended to accelerate the centralization. It thus happened that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century conditions were ripe for the evolution of a still more closely knit state, and merely awaited the advent of the man who could bring it about. And such a man appeared.

159 A critical life of Alexander McGillivray would be a distinct con-
177 tribution to southern history, but it is not germane to our purpose.
643 Doubtless much that has been written regarding him is inaccurate and I do not vouch for all the facts given in the following account by Swan, but of the revolution he accomplished in Creek government there can be no doubt. Swan says that his title was Steutsa'cco-Cho'ota' which is evidently a very bad attempt at isti àtcagàgi làko, "great honored or beloved man."[80] He goes on:

"The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks,

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[80] His Indian name, however, is given by Pope as "Hippo ilk Meco, or the good Child King." In correct Creek this would be Hoboi-hili miko, but there is reason to think that McGillivray did not belong to a clan which would entitle him to be called miko.

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where he was born, by the advice of his father immediately set about placing himself at the head of the nation. His kindred and family connexion in the country, and his evident abilities, soon gave him such influence among them that the British made him their commissary, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, under Colonel Brown, then superintendent.

"After the English had abandoned the nation, in 1782, this beloved man found it necessary, in order to carry on the war with success against the Georgians, to undertake a reform in the policy of the nation, which had for a long time been divided by faction.

"He effected a total revolution in one of their most ancient customs, by placing the warriors in all cases over the micos or kings, who, though not active as warriors, were always considered as important counsellors. The micos resisted this measure for some time; and the struggle became at last so serious, that the beloved chief had one Sullivan and two others, partizans of the micos, put to death in the public squares. They were all three white men who had undertaken to lead the faction against him; but he finally crushed the insurgents, and effected his purposes.

"The spirit of opposition still remained against him in the old Tallassie king, Opilth Mico, who, with his clan, pronounced M'Gillivray a boy and an usurper, taking steps that must be derogatory to his family and consequence. And under these circumstances he undertook to treat separately with the Georgians. The consequences were, his houses were burnt in his absence, and his corn and cattle destroyed. Notwithstanding, he remained refractory for a long time, as well as some of the most important of the lower towns, until, finding the Georgians aimed at them indiscriminately, and a Mr. Alexander had killed twelve of their real friends (the Cussutahs), they dropped their internal disputes, and united all their efforts, under the great chief, against the frontiers."[51]

Swan adds some interesting particulars regarding the means resorted to by McGillivray to secure his authority. He kept the several towns in obedience by threatening to remove the white traders from among them. He encouraged the presentation of complaints by all parties but put off judgment so long that the parties usually settled the matter between themselves, thereby relieving him of the necessity of delivering a verdict unfavorable to one of them and attracting personal enmity in consequence. Another device, as old as tyranny, was to collect about himself a body of retainers. Swan says:

"Some young men of his relations, and several active warriors living about Little Tallassie, whom the chief keeps continually attached to him by frequent and profuse presents, serve him as a

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[51] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 281.

159 kind of watch, and often in the capacity of constables—pursue, take
177 up, and punish, such characters as he may direct; and on some occasions have acted as executioners.

643 "It is a maxim of his policy to give protection to outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country, who have fled in great numbers from the hands of justice, and found an asylum in the Creek nation. The whites living among the Indians (with very few exceptions), are the most abandoned wretches that can be found, perhaps, on this side of Botany Bay; there is scarcely a crime but some of them has been guilty of. Most of the traders and all their hirelings and pack-horse-men, are of the above description."[82]

McGillivray's father, Lachlan McGillivray, was a Scotchman loyal to the crown, and from him and his sojourn among the whites Alexander had gained sufficient astuteness to know how to deal with the colonists, along with a prejudice against their cause. His government, it will be seen, resembled rather a Greek tyranny than the military democracy to which Swan likens it. It must be added, however, that McGillivray's power was due rather to his shrewdness and his understanding of the Indian mind than to the exercise of autocratic authority, though, as we have seen, he could use the iron glove on occasion. McGillivray belonged to the Wind clan,[83] and although this clan held an exalted position in the tribe, none of the officials of Otciapofa, his proper town and that which he made his capital, were Wind people. This explains in part his adoption of the term "great beloved man," one which could be held by a member of any clan. The government as I have described it also explains the appellation of "grand chief" which Milfort applies to McGillivray.[84] Milfort was probably one of those outsiders whom McGillivray gathered about him. That he was made a tástanági is probable, but, as has been stated above, the name did not carry the significance which Milfort attaches to it of "head war chief" of the nation.

Milfort and Pope both confirm Swan's statement regarding the internal revolution effected by McGillivray, except that where the former says "nation" we must substitute "town," or "towns." His words are:

"The Tastanégy or grand war chief formerly had no part in the internal administration, his authority lasted only as long as the war: but now, he is the first civil as well as the first military chief of the nation."[85]

Says Pope:

"M'Gillivray who is perpetual dictator, in Time of War subdelegates a Number of Chieftains for the Direction of all military

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[82] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 282.

[83] Milfort, Mém., p. 323; Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

[84] Ibid., pp. 40–41 et seq.

[85] Milfort, op. cit., p. 237.

Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings."[86]

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It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (tástánági łáko) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,[87] both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

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A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thuluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

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[86] Pope, Tour, p. 65.

[87] In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. II, p. 786) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.

642 "2d. Ki-a-li-jee and Eu-fau-lau. For these two towns, they appointed E-maut-lau Hut-ke.

631 177 "3d. Hill-au-bee, Woc-co-coie and Pochusehatche. For these three towns they appointed Cussetuh Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Hill-aubee, and Thle-chum-me Tustunnigge ["Łidjȧmi Tȧstȧnȧgi], of Woccocoie.

"4th. Au-bee-coo-che, Nau-che, Coosau and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. For these four towns, they appointed Olohtau Haujo [Holahta hȧdjo].

"5th. Ho-ith-le-wau-le, Ecunhutke, Sauvanogee, Mook-lau-sau and Took-au-bat-che. For these five towns, they appointed O-poie E-maut-lau [Hobayi Imała], of Ho-ith-le-waule. . . .

"6th. Oc-fus-kee and its villages, Sooc-he-ah, New-yau-cau, Immook-fau, Took-au-bat-che Tal-lau-has-see, Took-to-cau-gee, Au-che-nau-ulgau, Oc-fus-coo-che, and E-pe-sau-gee. For this town and its villages, they appointed Hopoie Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Oc-fuskee, and Tal-lo-wau-thlucco Tus-tun-nug-gee.

"7th. O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-kee-gee. For these two towns, they appointed Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie.

"8th. Tal-e-see, Aut-tos-see, Foose-hat-che and Coo-loo-me. For these four towns, they appointed Foose-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Tal-e-see, and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Foose-hat-che.

"9th. Hook-choie-oo-che, Coo-saû-dee, E-cun-cha-te, Too-wos-sau, Pau-woc-te, and At-tau-gee. For these towns and villages, they appointed Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc, of Hook-choie-ooche." [88]

642 643 To what extent this plan of government was put in force seems uncertain, but the primacy of Coweta and Tukabahchee continued, as is shown by numerous statements in the documents of the first half of the nineteenth century. We learn that in 1814 the "Little Prince" was head chief of the entire nation—though one writer refers to him as "the chief speaker." He belonged to Łikatcka, which, as we have seen, was a branch of Coweta. At the same time we are told that Tȧstȧnȧgi łȧko, the "Big Warrior," a Tukabahchee, was "speaker for the Upper Creeks," Tȧstȧnȧgi hopai speaker for the Lower Creeks, and William McIntosh head chief of Coweta.[89] From what Hodgson says it is evident that in 1820 the Little Prince and the Big Warrior occupied the same positions, although they are both called "Chief Speakers of the Nation" as if their authority were coordinate. Hodgson adds, "The most popular and influential person, however, in the Nation, is Mackintosh, the Head Warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age; who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country." [90]

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[88] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

[89] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, pp. 571, 575.

[90] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267. In one place (Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571) McIntosh is called "Speaker of the Nation."

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In a later document four chiefs are mentioned as having made a reply to the United States Commissioners at Łikatcka, on December 11, 1824, "Little Prince, O. Porthle Yoholo (Speaker of the Upper Creeks), William McIntosh (Speaker of the Nation), and Hopoy Hadgo."[91] In a letter written seven days after this, by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, Little Prince is referred to as the head of the nation, while the Big Warrior is called head chief of the Upper towns and McIntosh head chief of the Lower towns and also Speaker of the Nation.[92] The somewhat perplexing statements are reconciled when we understand that Little Prince was head chief of the entire nation by virtue of the fact that he was head of the Coweta group of towns, although actually he was premier chief only of the branch town of Łikatcka. McIntosh was chief of Coweta itself and also held the position of speaker for Little Prince, having apparently succeeded a man named Tastanagi hobayi, and because Little Prince was head chief of the Lower Creeks and premier chief of the nation McIntosh is also called "Speaker of the Nation." A formal error is probably made by Campbell in referring to him as "head chief of the Lower towns," while the nomenclature employed by Hodgson is inexact owing to the temporary nature of his visit among the Creeks. That Hodgson does not mean by "chief speakers" those who made announcements is shown by his explanation immediately following: "The Chief Speakers are by no means necessarily the principal *orators*, but may employ a fluent Chief to convey their sentiments. Their office is to carry into effect the decisions of the Great Council of the Nation; a deliberative body, composed of chiefs from the different towns."[93] It seems plain, in short, that during this period the Little Prince of Łikatcka was head chief of the Lower Creeks and of the nation, while the Big Warrior was head chief of the Upper Creeks. McIntosh appears to have been chief of Coweta in 1814 and to have risen to the position of speaker of the nation by 1824—that is, speaker for the Little Prince. Hoboi-hili yahola had risen to the position of speaker of the Upper Creeks by 1824. It seems evident that by this time all of the Upper towns recognized a head chief and all of the Lower towns another and that the latter enjoyed a primacy over the former, and that each of these had an assistant called a "speaker" who was a man of influence. After the removal there was a principal and second chief over all the towns and a principal and second chief for each of the two divisions.[94]

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According to one of my informants the head chief of the Upper Creeks was elected by 30 men chosen from the towns of Tukabahchee, Kealedji, Atasi, and Hàtci tcàbà—i. e., from the Upper Creek towns

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[91] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571.

[92] Ibid., p. 573.

[93] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267.

[94] Eakins in Schoolcraft, vol. I, pp. 274-275.

642 of the Tukabahchee group. This statement remains unsubstantiated. The same man also stated that the Lower Creeks had two chiefs, "one governing on each side of any stream," but this would seem to refer to the chiefs of the Kasihta and Coweta, the lands of which were separated by the Chattahoochee River.

Writing in 1839, when the removal to the west was not completed, Farnham says:

"The civil government of this tribe is less perfect than that of the Cherokees. There are two bands; the one under McIntosh, and the other under Little Doctor. That led by the former, brought with them from their old home written laws which they enforce as the laws of their band. That under the latter, made written laws after their arrival. Each party holds a general council. The members of each are hereditary chiefs, and a class of men called councillors. Each of these great bands is divided into lesser ones; which severally may hold courts, try civil and criminal causes, sentence, and execute, &c. Laws, however, are made by the general councils only; and it is becoming customary to entertain trials of cases before these bodies, and to detail some of their members for executioners. The legislative, judicial, and executive departments of their government are thus becoming strangely united in one."[94a]

Eakins says "every hundred persons has a right to elect a chief, who represents them in general council."[95]

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643 From the time of their emigration until after the Civil War the Lower and Upper Creeks remained aloof from each other. Roly McIntosh,[96] first chief of the former division in the west, was succeeded by Moty Kennard, and when the latter died his second chief, Yakinha miko, took his place. Tukabahchee miko, often spoken of as chief of the Upper Creeks, was in reality their principal medicine maker. His fields were cared for by the people of Tukabahchee and he was allowed a salary of $500 from the Creek treasury. In 1842–43 the Upper Creek chief was Tâmali miko.[96a] When the Creek constitution was adopted Itco hadjo miko occupied the position.

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177 As is well known the Creeks split into two factions on the outbreak of the Civil War and became pretty thoroughly demoralized. After it was ended a great council was held near Okmulgee, a constitution was adopted and a new government set up, modeled to some extent on that of the United States. There were two deliberative and legislative bodies called the House of Kings and the House of Warriors chosen from the different districts and two head chiefs, a first and a second, elected every four years by the entire nation. He who received the highest number of votes was made first chief and he

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[94a] Farnham's Travels, in Early Western Travels, vol. XXVIII, pp. 129–130.

[95] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

[96] It appears from a writer in Schoolcraft (Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 267) that the second chief of the Lower Creeks under McIntosh was Benjamin Marshall.

[96a] See pp. 315–316; Stanley in Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 53, p. 12.

who received the next highest second chief, no matter whether the two so chosen had run upon the same ticket or not.

The following first and second chiefs were elected after the adoption of this constitution:

HEAD CHIEF	SECOND CHIEF
Samuel Chicote of Sawokli (served three or four terms).	Itco hadjo miko.[97]
Lōtca hadjo of Abihkutci (or Nuyaka) (served three months and was then impeached).	Ward Coachman, of Alabama.
Ward Coachman (filled out the rest of the term).	(Left vacant.)
Joseph M. Perryman, of Okmulgee (one term).	(Uncertain.)[98]
Legus Perryman of Okmulgee (two terms).	Hotálgi imala of Okchai.
Ispahihtca of Kasihta (one term).	Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee.
Pleasant Porter of Okmulgee (one complete term and part of a second term).	Moty Tiger of Tukabahcee.
Moty Tiger (completes term).	(Left vacant.)

Pleasant Porter was the last chief regularly elected. Moty Tiger was succeeded by the late G. W. Grayson, of Coweta, mentioned so often in this report, who was appointed by President Wilson. Mr. Grayson died in office and his son Washington Grayson was appointed his successor. When he resigned the position was conferred upon George Hill, of Tulsa Canadian.

The chiefs elected after the adoption of the constitution were not necessarily heads of the towns from which they came, and it is said of Tukabahchee miko, before that time, that he was transferred by special agreement from the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee to that of the Warriors because he could not be withheld from making addresses, and the delivering of addresses on the part of the town chief himself was contrary to custom. Itco hadjo miko was a tástanági or an imala, Samuel Chicote was only a tásikaya, Hotálgi imala was a great war speaker (holibonaia) and also an imala, and Moty Tiger a tástanági. Miko hátki, given by Cook as second chief under Chicote, was, however, chief of his town, Tulsa. It is worthy of note that the ablest leaders, after the adoption of the constitution, were from the non-Muskogee towns, Ward Coachman, of Alabama, Samuel Chicote, the Perrymans, and Pleasant Porter from the Hitchiti-speaking towns, and Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee. Mr. McCombs considers the last named, although he did not reach the position of head chief, the greatest Creek statesman of his time. He was named

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[97] Mr. McCombs, my authority for the incumbent of this position, was in some doubt about his correctness and the second chief may have been Miko hátki of Tulsa, as given by Cook.

[98] Zachariah Cook thought that Roly McIntosh was second chief under J. M. Perryman and Legus Perryman second chief under Ispahihtca, but Mr. McCombs is probably right.

642 177 for the first Roly McIntosh, who is said to have conferred the title upon him himself, in anticipation of his future greatness.

As stated already, when the Creek chief was installed an installation speech was made to him by a man of the Bird clan of Otciapofa, who instructed him regarding his duties and in general as to what was expected of him.

The duties of sheriffs or constables were discharged by eight, or about eight, light horsemen (tcilåko ohgā′ga), four for the Upper Creeks and four for the Lower Creeks.

[171] The government of the Seminole nation was similar to that of the Creek nation proper. They had only two light horsemen.

177 The following general view of the condition of the Creeks in the middle of the nineteenth century furnishes an interesting picture of them in their western home in the middle period of their decline, a decline soon afterwards accelerated vastly by the Civil War and now brought to completion by their allotment and the practical abolishment of their national government:

"The Lower Towns, from their closer proximity and greater intercourse with the whites, exhibit a much greater advance in civilization and manner than their brethren of the Upper Towns. The old custom of settling together compactly and cultivating the town fields has been altogether abandoned, and they are no longer visible in this portion of the nation; the people are settled promiscuously throughout the country; many of their farms and residences would do credit to the States. Ornaments. silver plates, ear-rings, beads, and paint, are grown into disuse, and seldom or never seen except at their festivals or ball plays. The dress of the whites is becoming common, with the exception of the hunting shirt, which is generally of gay printed calico, and may be conceived quite picturesque. It is tenaciously adhered to, and is common to all Indians. Hats, vests, pantaloons, and shoes may almost be said to be the common habilaments of the males, and dresses of the richest materials of silks and muslins, made, too, in accordance with the latest fashions, are often to be seen upon the persons of the female classes. Gold and silver watches, rich and costly articles of jewelry, viz: chains, rings, brooches, etc., etc., are also used by the rich.

"The English language, though not generally spoken, is understood by many; and a strong desire is manifested by the community at large to throw off all their old superstitious ways and customs, and to adopt the ways of the whites. On the other hand, however, it can be said that the number of the indigent and needy is much greater here in this part of the nation. The use of whiskey, too, is more general, and its effects more visible. As before stated, there is no town, nor even a village, to be met with, yet the people are every year summoned, to their great dissatisfaction, to assist in building or repairing the town council houses, etc.; in many instances, to leave their crops and go a distance of 20 or 30 miles;—this service is enforced, too, under a penalty of a pecuniary fine. The settlements of the Lower Towns extend from the Verdigris river, on it and between it and the Arkansas, on both banks, to the Red fork, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of fifty. They are separated from the settlements of the Upper Towns by an uninterrupted prairie, extending from the bottoms of the Arkansas, south, to those of the north fork of the Canadian, a distance of about forty miles; they [the Upper Towns] extend from there, westward, between and on the Deep fork, North fork, and Main Canadian, to Little river, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of about sixty. From their peculiar location, they have less intercourse with the whites, and consequently do not exhibit so much improvement. Their dress, too, is more after the aboriginal form; they are forbidden to adopt that of the whites under penalty of lashes; they are, however, generally speaking, more enterprising and industrious; they grow cotton, and practise the domestic arts of spinning and weaving to a greater extent than the others. Cases of extreme poverty are more rarely to be met with. The chiefs are more generous, and their policy more liberal than those of the Lower Towns. In addition to the two blacksmiths' shops, furnished them by treaty stipulations, they have a public shop, which is supported out of their portion of the annuity; they have also devoted a portion of it to the erection of a water mill, and the support of a millwright; they have also a wheelwright, but he is paid by the government; they have not so much wealth as the Lower Town chiefs, generally speaking—(the McIntosh family are supposed to be worth $150,000 and B. Marshall some $50,000) yet *they* contribute nothing towards anything of this kind—alleviating the distresses of the poor, or to affecting any improvement in their country; however, it is reported that Opothleyoholo is by far the richest man in the whole nation."[90] 177

Hitchcock informs us that the Creek laws were compiled, or rather digested, in 1826 before the emigration and that an abstract of the digest was approved by a general council in 1840. Mr. N. L. Alexander, the Creek through whom Hitchcock obtained access to these, did not think that the first written laws antedated about the year 1822, but Hitchcock himself remarks that the year "1817" was entered opposite the law punishing murder. He adds: 642 671

"Most of the laws—there are but few altogether—relate to the punishment of the most prominent crimes, known as such among all men, and the regulation of property rights. They scarcely touch upon the ancient customs and usages of the Nation which are for the most part left in full force. Infanticide was formerly not uncom-

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[90] James Logan, in Indian Affairs Report, 1845, pp. 514-517.

642 671 mon; it is prohibited by the written laws. An attempt was made in 1840 to abolish a custom giving to the relations of a husband on his death the power of keeping the widow secluded and forbidding her second marriage for a period of four years. They attempted to restrict the period to 12 months, but the people would not listen to it and the council yielded to the public voice and repealed the law in 1841."[1]

PROPERTY

421 So many old Creek customs, usages, and laws have become lost or obscured that it is difficult to reconstruct the primitive system with any certainty from what is remembered at the present day. With regard to property it is to be noted that two strong influences constantly operated to dilute the sense of individual ownership. These influences were the powerful kinship system and the abundance and accessibility of all of those things—or the raw materials of those things—necessary in aboriginal life. The value which we attach to things is dependent to a very considerable extent on the ease with which we can replace them.

[574] As was usual among primitive people, strangers were provided with food and a place to sleep gratis. This might be in the community hot house, or, after the clan of the visitor had been revealed, in the home of some man married into that clan. Regarding chattels we could wish the information from these Indians were more specific. Adair "observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them" but he immediately begins to speak of their hospitality in the matter of food and shelter which is quite a different matter.[2] Bartram says:

"Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.

426 431 "If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time . . ."[3]

If Bartram could have examined actual conditions more intimately he would probably have found that this exchange took place

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[1] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

[3] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 41.

426 431 almost entirely between members of the same clan or members of linked clans or else between individuals connected by marriage. It is not to be supposed that we have here a case of real communism in chattels. Part of it was nothing more than borrowing, and another part a borrowing of a different kind in which equivalent values were exchanged instead of identical objects. From my own experience with Indians I think it is safe to assume that every family was pretty acutely conscious of its credit or debit as regards every other family, and that a persistent "sponge" was looked down upon and avoided. That there were such "sponges" we know from Stiggins, who says:

736 574 "If it (hospitality) is beneficial in keeping the traveler and stranger from hunger and starvation, it keeps a great many of their town people of men and women sauntering from door to door in loafing idleness; if no one will cloathe them, they are perfectly satisfied for every house will feed them."[4]

421 Adair gives an amusing account of the skill with which one Indian parried the appeal of another for a certain service.[5] The sense of individual ownership was by no means wanting; only for the reasons above given it did not always appear so keenly developed as with us. Social usage had sanctioned a method of exchange comparatively unknown to Europeans and had given a definite "set" to the instinct of private ownership, not abolished it. Indeed, elsewhere Bartram himself says:

"All that a man earns by his labor or industry belongs to himself; he has the use and disposal of it according to the custom and usages of the people. He may clear, settle, and plant as much land as he pleases, and wherever he will within the boundaries of his tribe."[6]

426 Debts, which probably had nothing to do with this social exchange, were also recognized. Adair remarks that "when they are able, without greater damage to themselves, than benefit to their creditor, they discharge their honest debts." And he adds that when differences arose over such matters they were settled by "the head Archimagus, and his old beloved men," and that a creditor could seize property of the debtor to the amount due him.[7] Both Creeks and Seminole formerly had a high reputation among the white people for punctuality in the payment of their debts.[8] In this particular civilization has not worked for their betterment. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century Eakins says of them: "Obligations, in regard to debt, are considered binding. Time does not diminish these obligations among the Creeks. The Indian does not consider ill-luck in hunting, as exonerating him from paying his debts."[9]

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[4] Stiggins, Ms.

[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 304-305.

[6] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.

[7] Adair, op. cit., p. 429.

[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

[9] Ibid., p. 282.

423 621 The yard immediately about each house or group of houses of course went with it; the square ground, chunky yard, and hot house were the property of the community. Gardens, as Bartram has stated, could be cleared by anyone anywhere within the limits of the town land.[10] And Eakins expresses their attitude toward the private ownership of land by the quotation, "It is for me, for thee, and for all." He adds, however, that improvements were sometimes sold.[11] This applied to the Creeks in their western home about the middle of the nineteenth century.

361 Regarding the town lands Stiggins says:

423 [224] [784] "The inhabited parts of the nation are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga.*"[12] The inhabitants of each town claimed an exclusive right to hunt in the territory immediately about it, and according to Stiggins men of one town approached another "with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated."[13] At times an agreement was entered into by the members of a town to refrain from hunting in a certain territory for a definite period. A kind of taboo similar to the device common among the Polynesians was laid upon it and it was called "ikåna tcaka," "the sacred or consecrated land." At the expiration of the time fixed upon the people entered this tract and hunted there together. Bears were the chief animals which they expected to find.

241 The management of the large town fields is instructive. Bartram says of them:

"Every town or community assigns a piece of land as near as may be to the town, for the sake of convenience. This is called the *town plantation*, where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or the largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set up, or any other natural or artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one enclosure or general boundary."[14]

These fields were planted and cultivated by the town working together, all attending to the several plots in turn. They harvested at the same time, but then each family harvested from its own plot. A part of the produce of each lot was placed in a public granary under the charge of the chief.

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[10] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.
[11] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.
[12] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.
[13] Ibid., p. 19.
[14] Bartram, op. cit., p. 38.

From what Adair tells us[14a] it would seem that the stones used in playing the chunkey game were town property. 422

The house, and probably the necessary household furniture, belonged to the wife, the tools made and used by the husband to him, and thus they were vested in different clan groups and some of them probably went to entirely different persons at the death of the owners. In early times such a large part of a man's personal property was buried with his corpse that not much was left for heirs to quarrel over. Bartram says that the first selection from whatever was left was made by the head wife of the deceased, the remainder being divided between his other wives and his children.[15] This may have been true in certain special cases but there is reason to doubt that it represented a custom common in earlier times. Says Eakins: [592] 428

"The descent of property is fixed. It is willed as the parents please. But if no will has been made, the property reverts to the children. But in case of a marriage with a widow, with children, her property reverts to her children by her first husband. The eldest son is entitled only to an equal portion with the rest. A written will is binding. A verbal will, established by two responsible persons, is valid also. If there has been no other disposition made of the medal, it goes to the eldest son. In former times, all relics were taken possession of by the deceased sister's eldest son. But now they are the subject of legacy as other property."[16]

This statement dates, of course, from a comparatively late period in the history of the Creek Indians, about the year 1850. The same authority states just above that anciently all property descended in the female line—indeed, he implies as much in the quotation just given—and there is every reason to believe that this is correct. It is confirmed by Gregg.[17]

As to the lands of the confederacy outside of these town areas we may probably rely upon the following statement, also by Bartram: 423 642

"Every individual inhabitant has an equal right to the soil and to hunt and range over this region, except within the jurisdiction of each town or village, which I believe seldom extends beyond its habitations and planting grounds. Perhaps the *Uches* are to be excepted. They claim an exclusive property, by right of a contract; but though they sometimes put the Creeks in mind of this privilege, when their hunters make too free with their hunting grounds, yet the dispute seldom goes further, as the Confederacy are cautious of offending the Uches, and yield to their common interest and safety."[18]

[14a] See p. 465.

[15] Bartram, Travels, p. 514.

[16] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 283.

[17] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 317.

[18] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 22.

423 642 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

[727] 423 621 Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19] It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

177 648 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

674 732 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

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[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 240; cf. also p. 200.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

"deaf," but it has come to signify "drunken," "roguish," "wicked," 674
"sinful," etc. - 732

Institutional killing will be treated under its proper head. It was 628
based on the principle of retaliation, or, as more popularly expressed, 682
"getting even," and was considered necessary in order to placate the souls of the departed. I have already remarked that the victim was sometimes devoted to death in advance, and Bartram mentions a case in which he was selected by lot. The following quotation from Adair shows what happened when murder was committed within the tribe, as well as the Indian attitude toward man killing generally:

"The Indians transmit from father to son, the memory of the loss of their relation, or of one of their own tribe or family, though it were an old woman if she was either killed by the enemy, or by any of their own people. If indeed the murder be committed by a kinsman, the eldest can redeem: however, if the circumstances attending the facts be peculiar and shocking to nature, the murderer is condemned to die the death of a sinner, 'without anyone to mourn for him,' as in the case of suicide; contrary to their usage toward the rest of their dead.

"In the late Cheerake War, at the earnest persuasions of the trading people, several of the Muskohge warriors came down to the barrier-settlements of Georgia, to go against the Cheerake, and revenge English crying blood: but the main body of the nation sent a running embassy to the merchants there, requesting them immediately to forbear their unfriendly proceedings, otherwise, they should be forced by disagreeable necessity to revenge their relations' blood if it should chance to be spilt contrary to their ancient laws: . . . If an unruly horse belonging to a white man, should chance to be tied at a trading house and kill one of the Indians, either the owner of the house, or the person who tied the beast there, is responsible for it, by their lex talionis; . . . If the Indians have a dislike to a person, who by any casualty was the death of one of their people, he stands accountable, and will certainly suffer for it, unless he takes sanctuary.

"I knew an under trader, who being intrusted by his employer with a cargo of goods for the country of the Muskohge, was forced by the common law of good faith, to oppose some of those savages in the remote woods, to prevent their robbing the camp: the chieftain being much intoxicated with spirituous liquors, and becoming outrageous in proportion to the resistance he met with, the trader like a brave man, opposed lawless force by force: some time after, the lawless bacchanal was attacked with a pleurisy, of which he died. Then the heads of the family of the deceased convened the lesser judicatory, and condemned the trader to be shot to death for the supposed murder of their kinsman; which they easily effected, as he was off his guard, and knew nothing of their murdering design.

628 682 His employer, however, had such a friendly intercourse with them, as to gain timely notice of any thing that might affect his person or interest; but he was so far from assisting the unfortunate brave man, as the laws of humanity and common honour obliged him, that as a confederate, he not only concealed their bloody intentions, but went basely to the next town, while the savages painted themselves red and black, and gave them an opportunity of perpetrating the horrid murder. The poor victim could have easily escaped to the English settlements if forewarned, and got the affair accommodated by the mediation of the government. In acts of blood, if the supposed murderer escapes, his nearest kinsman either real or adopted, or if he has none there, his friend stands according to their rigorous law, answerable for the fact. . . . .

181 628 682 "There never was any set of people, who pursued the Mosaic law of *retaliation* with such a fixt eagerness as these Americans. They are so determined in this point, that formerly a little boy shooting birds in the high and thick corn-fields, unfortunately chanced slightly to wound another with his childish arrow; the young vindictive fox, was excited by custom to watch his ways with the utmost earnestness, till the wound was returned in as equal a manner as could be expected. Then, 'all was straight,' according to their phrase. Their hearts were at rest, by having executed that strong law of nature, and they sported together as before. This observation though small in itself, is great in its combined circumstances, as it is contrary to the usage of the old heathen world. They forgive all crimes at the annual atonement of sins, except murder, which is always punished with death. The Indians constantly upbraid us in their bacchanals, for inattention to this maxim of theirs; they say, that all nations of people who are not utterly sunk in cowardice, take revenge of blood before they can have rest, cost what it will. The Indian Americans are more eager to revenge blood, than any other people on the whole face of the earth. . . .

"I have known the Indians to go a thousand miles, for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods; over hills and mountains; through large cane swamps, full of grape-vines and briars; over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, if not with the rambling and lurking enemy, while at the same time they were exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitude of the seasons; to hunger and thirst, both by chance, and their religious scanty method of living when at war, to fatigue, and other difficulties. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly condemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer, or enemy, to satisfy the supposed craving ghosts of their deceased relations. Though they imagine the report of guns will send off the ghosts of

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their kindred that died at home, to their quiet place, yet they firmly believe, that the spirits of those who are killed by the enemy, without equal revenge of blood, find no rest, and at night haunt the houses of the tribe to which they belonged; but, when that kindred duty of retaliation is justly executed, they immediately get ease and power to fly away: This opinion, and their method of burying and mourning for the dead, of which we shall speak presently, occasion them to retaliate in so earnest and fierce a manner. . . . When any casual thing draws them into a war, it grows every year more spiteful till it advances to a bitter enmity, so as to excite them to an implacable hatred to one another's very national names. Then they must go abroad to spill the enemy's blood, and to revenge crying blood. We must also consider, it is by scalps they get all their war-titles, which distinguish them among the brave: and these they hold in as high esteem, as the most ambitious Roman general ever did a great triumph.[33]

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Says Stiggins:

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"When one of another clan if even by chance should kill one of their blood relations on the mother's side of the family, their customary law in this is similar to the law of the Jewish legislator in reference to the manslayer excepting the city of refuge, for their law is literally whoso sheddeth man's blood by man his blood must be shed. Time nor distance can not palliate their revenge for should the perpetrator make his escape one of his brothers or cousins on his mother's side is taken. One of his blood kindred or himself must atone for the one lost, male for male and female for female. Even accidents are frequently made a matter of atonement, as far for instance as to be on business for another person and be killed by their horse the employer or one of the brothers or cousins must atone with his life for the death; for this reason they say that had it not been for him and his business the death would not have happened."[34]

To illustrate this point Stiggins describes at length an event which occurred in the year 1808 when a Creek named the Singer, described as head chief of the Creek Nation, was on an expedition to the west of the Mississippi River, accompanied by his brothers. They were frightened back to the east side by enemies, and while there one of the Singer's brothers killed another Indian belonging to Kasihta, whom he mistook for an enemy. The comrades of the man who had been slain came to the Singer's camp and found the Singer alone, his brothers having set out to visit the Kasihta and explain to them the accidental nature of what had happened. This the Singer himself then proceeded to do, and at first the explanation was accepted as satisfactory. On their way home, however, the Kasihta Indians

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[33] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 148-151.

[34] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 29; cf. also Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol II, p. 111.

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reasoned that inasmuch as their brother had been killed it would be only just to kill the brother of the murderer, and accordingly they went back to the camp of the Singer and killed him in spite of his prominent position in the nation.[25]

According to Eakins, the proper "avenger of blood" was the own brother of the deceased, or, failing him, the nearest male blood and clan relative.[26]

Bossu says that "the law is that the one who has killed must be killed; except in case of a mischance, as in drunkenness, in a transport, or in games,"[27] but, as we have seen, such excuses did not always serve to protect the offender. The same writer also states that the French of Fort Toulouse and the Alabama had a standing agreement that if a Frenchman killed an Indian he must lose his life and vice versa, and an actual example is cited.

The following illustrates the Indian attitude still further. On being asked by Hawkins regarding the native Muskogee custom of punishing in cases of accidental death with the same severity as where there had been a manifest intention to kill, Ifa hadjo, the great medal chief of Tukabahchee and speaker of the nation in the national council, replied:

"This custom of ours is a bad one, blood for blood; but I do not believe it came from E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, but proceeded from ourselves. Of a case of this sort, I will give you my opinion, by my conduct. Lately, in Tookaubatche, two promising boys were playing and slinging stones. One of them let slip his sling, the stone flew back and killed his companion. The family of the deceased took the two boys, and were preparing to bury them in the same grave. The uncles, who have the right to decide in such cases, were sent for, and I was sent for. We arrived at the same time. I ordered the people to leave the house, and the two boys to remain together. I took the uncles to my house, raised their spirits with a little rum, and told them, the boy was a fine boy, and would be useful to us in our town, when he became a man; that he had no ill will against the dead one; the act was purely accidental; that it had been the will of E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-se to end his days, and I thought that the living one should remain, as taking away his life would not give it to the other. The two uncles, after some reflection, told me, as you have advised us, so we will act; he shall not die, it was an accident."[28]

The permanent conversion of the Indians may well be doubted, but the ancient law is well illustrated by the circumstance. Hawkins has the following to say regarding murder in the stricter sense of that term: 628 682

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[25] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 39-41.
[26] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 227.
[27] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 46, footnote.
[28] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 81.

"If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitely. When the tribe may be affected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

"This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid."[29] 727 648

In view of these facts the following law which Hawkins induced the Creek council to adopt becomes significant: 682 177

"To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation."[30]

Nevertheless it was with great difficulty that the Indian agent was enabled to secure the punishment of certain thieves and mischief-makers, some of whom had insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States,[31] so strong was the sense of obligation to retaliate for injuries received by a fellow clansman and so great the fear of awaking it. Adair mentions several occasions on which an offender was protected by his family.[32] By 1820, however, Hodgson reports,

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[29] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 74-75.

[30] Ibid., p. 68.

[31] Ibid., p. 67.

[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 263, 264.

682 on the authority of a trader who had been in the Creek country 15 years, that the murderer was publicly executed and the law of private 177 retaliation had gradually become obsolete.[33] And, about 20 years later, Eakins says:

"Among the Creeks, now, however, the murderer undergoes a regular trial before some of the leading chiefs of the nation, and is dealt with according to their decision. If an Indian should murder a [563] negro, the law is satisfied with the value of the negro being paid to the owner. The intervention of time and the fleeing of the murderer, generally allay resentment and lead to compromises. After the annual "busk," all offences are cancelled.[34] There is no distinction made in the estimate of life between the male and female."[35]

696 The administration of justice was, however, far from being Europeanized. Thus Gregg contradicts Eakins in part when he tells us that—

"They have no trial by jury, and their judicial proceedings are exceedingly summary—frequently without witnesses; for the warriors are generally too proud to deny a charge, lest it be construed into cowardice. Executions sometimes take place within an hour after the commencement of trial. Murder, rape, and a third conviction of stealing are punished with death, usually by shooting; but, in case of homicide, if claimed by the relatives of the deceased, the criminal is executed with the same kind of weapon, or, if possible, the very same, with which he committed the murder."[36]

And he adds:

"Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are for the most part rigorously enforced; though a commutation satisfactory to the aggrieved is still permitted to release the offender. Their laws, in cases of accidental homicide, are still more barbariously rigid than those of the other nations."[37]

The information which I have myself obtained corroborates in all 681 particulars that furnished by these earlier writers. The peculiar function of the White towns in protecting escaped criminals seems, however, to have well-nigh disappeared even before the migration to Oklahoma, as my oldest informants knew nothing about it. Jackson Lewis merely stated that a man who had committed an offense in one town frequently fled to another and kept out of sight as much as possible until a considerable period had elapsed. Then the chief of the town where he had sought refuge would say to the chief of the other town: "I have made a townsman of this friend of yours and I desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment. 681

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[33] Hodgson, Journey through N. A., p. 267.

[34] This agrees with the statement of one of Speck's informants (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 115), but anciently murder was one crime excepted from the general amnesty.

[35] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[36] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.

[37] Ibid., pp. 315-316.

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment. 628 682 614

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans, "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[39a] 888

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows: 847

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[40]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[41]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed 754 683

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[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 457.

[39] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 25-26.

[39a] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 56.

[40] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.

[41] Milfort, Mém., p. 251.

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merely because he was believed to possess the powers of a wizard, but because it was thought he had used his art to kill or seriously injure someone else. Thus the wizard (or witch) was not punished for being a wizard, according to the understanding of the people themselves, but for being a murderer.

684 Adultery was punished among the Creeks and other southern tribes in such a striking manner that almost every traveler in that section has recorded something about the custom. The first report of it was given by Garcilasso from information furnished by two old soldiers of De Soto's army and is as follows:

"Before leaving the province of Tuscaluça, it is proper to relate the manner in which the laws of this country and of that of Coça, punish adulteresses. There is, in this last province, a law which decrees, upon penalty of death, that if any one has sufficient indications to believe that a woman is an adulteress, he has to inquire into it and impeach her before the cacique, or, in his absence, before the local judges. These judges upon the report that is made to them, secretly hold an inquest against the person accused, and arrest her if they find her guilty. Afterwards, at the first festival, they order to be published that the inhabitants, on going out from their dinner repair to a certain place outside of the village, and that there they all arrange themselves in a row. Then come the judges, of whom two place themselves at one end of this file, and two at the other. They first decree that they bring to them the adulteress, and then they say to her husband who is present, that she is convicted of a lewd life, and that he must deal with her according to the rigor of the law. The husband strips her entirely naked, and shaves her with a kind of razor of flint; a disgraceful punishment and common among the Indians of the new world. Then to show that he repudiates her, he leaves with the clothes of his wife, and abandons her to the power of the judges. Two immediately command the criminal to pass in front of the persons who are in a row, and to go and declare her crime to the other two officers. She obeys, and as soon as she draws near to them she tells them that she is convicted of adultery and condemned to the penalty with which the law punishes that crime; that she is sent to them in order that they may do with her what it shall please them for the welfare of the province. The judges immediately send her back with this answer: that it is just that the laws that are made with a view to the preservation of public virtue should be inviolably observed; that therefore they confirm the sentence which they have rendered against her, and order her in the future not to relapse again into her crime. Thereupon she returns to the first judges, and the people who are in a row hiss her, and endeavor by means of insults, to increase her shame. In the mean time the people who come in a crowd and see her naked, yell at her. Some cast clods of earth at her, and others straw, and others old rags and pieces of mats and other like things, the law ordering it so, and they regard this poor woman only as the disgrace of her sex. After all these inflictions, the judge banishes her from the country and places her in the hands of her parents, with orders, upon pain of exemplary punishment, not to permit her to enter into any place of the province. The parents receive her, and as soon as they cover her with a mantle they lead her away into a place where she is never seen by any Indian of the country; and at the same time the judges permit the husband to take another wife. Thus they punish, in Coça, the Indian women who violate the faith which they owe to those whom they marry. But in the province of Tuscaluça they punish them with still greater rigor. The law of this country decrees that if, at an unseasonable hour, they see any one enter and leave three or four times a house, and that they suspect the mistress of the lodge of adultery, they are obliged, by the religion of the country, to inform the husband of the conduct of his wife, and to prove, by three or four witnesses, that they assert nothing but the truth. The husband, at the same time, assembles the witnesses, and interrogates them one after another, with horrible imprecations against him who lies, and great benedictions in favor of him who discloses the truth.

"Afterwards, if he finds his wife sufficiently convicted of having violated her faith, he leads her out of the village, ties her to a tree or to a post which he fixes in the ground, and shoots her to death with arrows. Then he goes to the cacique, or, in his absence, to the justice of the place. He tells them that, in such a place outside of the village, he has just killed his wife, upon information that she had committed adultery; that he petitions them to summon the accusers, in order that, if the crime of which they charge her is true, he might be formally acquitted, and, if the contrary, he might receive the punishment decreed by the law of the province. In the latter case, the law commands the parents of the wife to shoot the husband to death with arrows; that he be the prey of dogs and birds, and that his wife, as a mark of her innocence, be honorably interred; that if the witnesses persisted in their evidence and did not contradict themselves, in a word, if they verified by good proofs the crime in question, they acquitted the husband, with the liberty to take a wife, and forbid, upon pain of death, the parents of the criminal from drawing a single arrow from her body, or even interring it, because it was necessary that she should serve as an example and be devoured by beasts. We see by this that, in all Florida they punished very rigorously adulteresses. But we do not know in what manner they punished the men who debauched the wives of others."[illegible]

[illegible] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. [illegible].

The Coça were represented in later years by part of the Upper Creeks and the Tuscaluça by the Mobile Indians, and the customs recorded here do not accord with the later customs known to have been in vogue among either. Nevertheless, as we shall presently see, Adair mentions the custom of shooting adulteresses to death as one formerly in vogue in the very region from which Garcilasso reports it. He does not say what tribe was addicted to this, but it would seem to have been one of those near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. The Mobile do not appear to have preserved this usage, as none of the French writers mentions it. This may have been due to the enormous losses they had suffered from the Spaniards and from other tribes of Indians. Hawkins says that the Creek punishment for adultery was unknown among the Alabama,[43] but he is contradicted by Bossu who describes it in some detail.[44] Regarding the ordeal which Garcilasso attributes to the Coça there are two possible explanations: either his informants had obtained only an imperfect account of the custom or the usage changed between the time of De Soto and the later English and French settlements. There is some reason to believe that the latter explanation is partly correct, because Hakwins, writing near the end of the eighteenth century, says that the law regarding adultery, along with many other usages, originated with the Abihka Indians.[45] These people are nowhere mentioned in the De Soto narratives and may not have been in the country in De Soto's time.

Adair, as usual, gives a very complete account, containing information not found elsewhere. He says:[46]

"The middle aged people of a place, which lies about half-way to Mobile, and the Illinois (from Carolina), assure us, that they remember when adultery was punished among them with death, by shooting the offender with barbed arrows, as there are no stones there. But what with the losses of their people at war with the French and their savage confederates, and the constitutional wantonness of their young men and women, they have through a political desire of continuing, or increasing their numbers, moderated the severity of that law, and reduced it to the present standard of punishment; which is in the following manner. If a married woman is detected in adultery by one person, the evidence is deemed good in judgment against her; the evidence of a well grown boy or girl, they even reckon sufficient, because of the heinousness of the crime, and

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[43] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 37.

[44] See p. 351.

[45] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 42.

[46] As Adair's account is somewhat confused it should be explained that, after speaking of the people who formerly punished adultery by shooting the offender with arrows, he proceeds to describe the Chickasaw method of punishment. Then he takes up the Muskogee customs and reverts to the Chickasaw in the next to the last paragraph of the quotation, concluding with a final paragraph on the Muskogee.

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the difficulty of discovering it in their thick forests. . . . When the crime is proved against the woman, the enraged husband accompanied by some of his relations, surprises and beats her most barbarously, and then cuts off her hair and nose, or one of her lips. There are many of that sort of disfigured females among the Chikkasah, and they are commonly the best featured, and the most tempting of any of their country-women, which exposed them to the snares of young men. But their fellow-criminals, who probably first tempted them, are partially exempted from any kind of corporal punishment.

"With the Muskohge Indians, it was formerly reckoned adultery, if a man took a pitcher of water off a married woman's head, and drank of it. But their law said, if he was a few steps apart, and she at his request set it down, and retired a little way off, he might then drink without exposing her to any danger. . . .

"Among those Indians, when adultery is discovered, the offending parties commonly set off speedily for the distant woods, to secure themselves from the shameful badge of the sharp penal law, which they inevitably get, if they can be taken before the yearly offering for the atonement of sin; afterward, every crime except murder is forgiven. But they are always pursued, and frequently overtaken; though perhaps, three or four moons absent, and two hundred miles off, over hills and mountains, up and down many creeks and rivers on contrary courses, and by intricate windings—the pursuers are eager, and their hearts burn within them for revenge. When the husband has the chilling news first whispered in his ear, he steals off with his witness to some of his kinsmen, to get them to assist him in revenging his injury; they are soon joined by a sufficient number of the same family, if the criminal was not of the same tribe [town]; otherwise, he chuses to confide in his nearest relations. When the witness has asserted to them the truth of his evidence by a strong asseveration, they separate to avoid suspicion, and meet commonly in the dusk of the evening, near the town of the adulterer, where each of them provides a small hoop-pole, tapering to the point, with knobs half an inch long, (allowed by ancient custom) with which they correct the sinners; for as their law in this case doth not allow partiality, if they punished one of them and either excused or let the other escape from justice, like the Illinois, they would become liable to such punishment as they had inflicted upon either of the parties.[67]

"They commonly begin with the adulterer, because of the two, he is the more capable of making his escape: They generally attack him at night, by surprise, lest he should make a desperate resistance, and blood be shed to cry for blood. They fall on eager and merciless, whooping their revengeful noise, and thrashing their captive, with their long-knobbed hoop-flails; some over his head and face; others on his shoulders and back. His belly, sides, legs, and arms, are gashed all over, and at last, he happily seems to be insensible of pain: then they cut off his ears. . . .

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[67] If the male offender escaped punishment could be inflicted on a relative. See Hawkins (p. [illegible]) and Claiborne (p. [illegible]).

"They observe, however, a graduation of punishment, according to the criminality of the adulteress. For the first breach of the marriage faith they crop her ears and hair, if the husband is spiteful: either of those badges proclaims her to be a whore, or *Hakse Kaneha*. . . . for the hair of their head is their ornament: when loose it completely reaches below their back; and when tied, it stands below the crown of the head, about four inches long, and two broad. As the offender cuts a comical figure among the rest of the women, by being trimmed so sharp, she always keeps her dark winter hot house, till by keeping the hair moistened with grease, it grows so long as to bear tying. Then she accustoms herself to the light by degrees; and soon some worthless fellow, according to their standard, buys her for his *Aná;* which term hath been already explained.

"The adulterer's ears are flashed off close to his head, for the first act of adultery, because he is the chief in fault. If the criminals repeat the crime with any other married persons, their noses and upper lips are cut off. But the third crime of the like nature, is attended with more danger; for the law says, that for public heinous crimes, satisfaction should be made visible to the people, and adequate to the injuries of the virtuous—to set their aggrieved hearts at ease, and prevent others from following such a dangerous crooked copy. As they will not comply with their mitigated law of adultery nor be terrified, nor shamed from their ill course of life; that the one may not frighten and abuse their wives, nor the other seduce their husbands and be a lasting plague and shame to the whole society, they are ordered by their ruling magi and war-chieftains, to be shot to death, which is accordingly executed; but this seldom happens.

"When I asked the Chikkasah the reason of the inequality of their marriage-law, in punishing the weaker passive party, and exempting the stronger, contrary to reason and justice; they told me, it had been so a considerable time—because their land being a continual seat of war, and the lurking enemy for ever pelting them without, and the women decoying them within, if they put such old cross laws of marriage in force, all their beloved brisk warriors would soon be spoiled, and their habitations turned to a wild waste. . . .

"The Muskohge Indians . . . oblige the adulteress under the penalty of the severest law not to be free with any man, (unless she is inclined to favour her fellow sufferer) during the space of four moons, after the broken moon in which they suffered for each other, according to the custom of the Maldivians. But her husband exposes himself to the utmost severity of the marriage law, if he is known to hold a familiar intercourse with her after the time of her punishment."[48]

Hodgson, on the authority of an old Creek trader, says that a husband who connived at the return of an adulterous wife from exile was liable to suffer the very penalties that had been inflicted upon her.[49]

Bossu's account, already alluded to, of the method in which punishment was inflicted among the Alabama, is as follows:

"It is first necessary that the husband be satisfied with his own eyes, and then the delinquent woman is spied upon by the relatives of the husband and by her own. It would be vain for the husband to wish to keep the unfaithful wife, he is no longer master of the situation: here is the reason for this, it is that the savages regard it as scandalous for a true man to live with a woman who has failed him so signally. In such a conjuncture the husband goes to find the chief, and lays the case before him. The chief then orders people to cut sticks; great secrecy is preserved. The chief then appoints a dance, at which everyone is obliged to be present, men, women, girls, and boys; if one is absent he pays a penalty; but no one ordinarily absents himself; at the moment when the dance is at its height they seize the adulteress, throw her on the ground, and then beat her on her back and on the front part of her body without sparing her. The one who seduced her receives the same treatment.

"When these unfortunates have been well castigated a relative belonging to each side approaches and puts a rod between the beaters and the beaten. Instantly all blows cease; but the woman is not yet free; her husband comes and cuts off her hair close to her head, and then he reproaches her in the presence of the assembly; that is to say he depicts to her how wrongly she has treated him, he never having let her want for anything, and that since it is so she can go with her seducer. They cut off his plaited hair all about, which falls in part over the foreheads of these people; after that they say to him, pointing to the unfaithful woman, 'There is your wife.' He is allowed to marry her on the spot but he is obliged to change his village.

"When it happens that a woman debauches the husband of another, the women assemble with rods as long as their arms, and go to seek for the culprit whom they beat unmercifully, which makes the young people laugh very much; if they did not finally snatch the rods from the hands of these furies they would kill the unfortunate culprit."[50]

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[48] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 143-146.
[49] Hodgson, Jour. through N. Am., pp. 267-268.
[50] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 23-24.

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The accounts of Hawkins and Pope regarding this punishment also deserve insertion. Hawkins states that adultery "is punished by the family or tribe of the husband. They collect, consult and decree. If the proof is clear, and they determine to punish the offenders, they divide and proceed to apprehend them. One half goes to the house of the woman, the remainder to the family house of the adulterer; or they go together, as they have decreed. They apprehend the offenders, beat them severely with sticks, and then crop them. They cut off the hair of the woman, which they carry to the square in triumph. If they apprehend but one of the offenders, and the other escapes, they then go and take satisfaction from the nearest relation.[50a] If both the offenders escape, and the tribe or family return home, and lay down the sticks, the crime is satisfied. There is one family only, the 'Wind,' (Ho-tul-ul-gee), that can take up the sticks a second time. This crime is satisfied in another way, if the parties offending absent themselves till the Boos-ke-tuh is over. Then all crimes are done away except murder. And the bare mention of them, or any occurrence which brings them in recollection, is forbidden." [51]

Pope says:

"Upon a detection of the crime, about 50 or 60 persons of each sex, repair to a thicket, and supply themselves with hickory clubs; this done, the men determine upon the measure of punishment to be inflicted on the woman and permit the women to decide upon the man's. They then separate, brandishing their clubs; the men in quest of the woman, the women in quest of the man. The adulteress when found, is seized upon, and ignominiously dragged into a circle formed by the men, who beat her with their clubs till she can no longer stand; and whilst extended on the ground, the avengers proceed to dock her hair, crop her ears, and slit her nostrils; of all this her inamorato, is made an unwilling spectator, and sometimes an agent; who, in turn, suffers a similar disgrace in the circle of the women, his fair Dulcinea looking on. What I have here mentioned are the highest punishments they ever inflict, even upon the most atrocious offenders. Simetimes they dispense with cropping their ears and slitting the nostrils, and content themselves, with giving the offender a sound drubbing with a short dock. . . .

"If the club bearers ever relinquish, or lay down their clubs through any mishap or necessity; before they encircle the object of their vengeance, they dare not resume them again, as it is presumed, that it was so ordered by their God, in tender mercy to the delinquents, who are accordingly acquitted of that offense." [52]

[50a] There is an apparent contradiction with Adair here but it is reconciled by Claiborne (p. 353).

[51] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 74.

[52] Pope, Tour, pp. 59-62.

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In stating that punishment was inflicted on the male offender by the women and on the female offender by the men Pope differs from all other writers.

Claiborne is also brief:

"If the woman violates her fidelity before the green-corn dance [among the Creeks] she is whipped severely, her ears cut off and tied to the sticks with which she was beaten and the sticks set up in the town square for the people to look at. They serve the man who seduced her in the same way. If the man clears out, and cannot be caught, the clansmen of the injured husband punish his nearest relation in his stead. If the woman be punished and not her seducer, or his relation, the clan of the woman inflict upon the leader of the party that punished her, the same punishment which she had endured, and there the thing ends."[53]

Romans dismisses the matter shortly:

"Adultery is punished by severe flagellations and loss of hair, nose, and ears, in both parties, if they are taken; sometimes they spare the nose of the man, and I have known some instances of white men having this misfortune and being obliged to apply to the Commissary, or the nearest Governor for a certificate to secure them from the imputation of the pillory."[54]

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Stiggins informs us that a man could take a second wife or concubine only with the consent of his first wife, and if he did not obtain it he was treated as an adulterer and punished as such by his wife's family,[55] and also that a widow or widower who married before the expiration of the prescribed period of mourning was so treated.[56] In this he is confirmed by Swan.[57]

The prerogative of the Wind clan mentioned by Hawkins is confirmed by Swan,[58] Stiggins,[59] and my informant Jackson Lewis. According to another authority the Wind clan could take up the clubs four times and the Bear clan could take them up twice,[60] but this may have been the case in some one town. Stiggins adds that the same privilege was enjoyed by members of the Wind clan in the case of minor offenses such as stealing.[61] There were no doubt many variations in the procedure, several of which are indicated in the accounts already given. In later times the penalty was probably softened. Mr. McCombs told me that for the first commission of adultery the man and woman were both beaten and the soft lobes

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[53] Claiborne, Miss., vol. I, p. 492.

[54] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 98.

[55] See p. 373.

[56] See pp. 378-379.

[57] See p. 378.

[58] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 269.

[59] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

[60] The agent Mitchell as reported by Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 111, 1836.

[61] Stiggins, Ms., p. 28.

684 of their ears where the earrings were commonly worn were cut off; for the second offense the whole ear was cut off; and for the third offense they cut off the nose, saying to the culprit "You have not sense enough to smell anything." He added that if a man had a wife and children and some other woman began running about with him, the women inflicted the punishment. They would rush upon their victim, foaming at the mouth like mad tigers, tear off her clothing and leave her all covered with blood. Meantime the men related to the woman's husband would gather round and, if they saw matters were likely to be carried to extremes, pull the woman away.

As the evidence of a single person was admitted, frequently a very young one at that, the innocent sometimes suffered, and the attentions of the Indians were often extended to white traders among them, in many cases no doubt on the most ample grounds.

836 If we were to accept Swan's testimony we should have to suppose that sexual looseness before marriage was not punished nor indeed curtailed in the smallest degree. He says:

"Simple fornication is no crime or reproach among the Creeks; the sexes indulge their propensities with each other promiscuously, unrestrained by law or custom, and without secrecy or shame. If a young woman becomes pregnant before she is married, which most of them do, the child is maintained in her clan without the least murmuring." [62]

Hodgson also declares that "female licentiousness before marriage is not attended with loss of character," [63] and Romans that "they will never scruple to sell the use of their bodies when they can do it in private" and "the savages think a young woman nothing the worse for making use of her body, as they term it." [64]

Bossu and Hitchcock testify to the same effect,[65] the latter attributing the abuse to the influence of polygamy.[66]

Nevertheless, from what may be gathered from other sources, it is evident that there were limits beyond which a young person could not go without being made to suffer in consequence.

At the meetings of the clan to which the offender belonged he (or she) would probably be reprimanded by the oldest clan uncle and perhaps "dry scratched" or whipped. The former punishment was inflicted by means of an implement made of gar teeth, or in later times needles. One person grasped the arms of the victim and held them about the ball-post while the scratching was done, and the latter usually bore it in stoical silence for fear of the ridicule of his companions. Another punishment was sarcasm, in which the Indians are adepts. They would praise the culprit in the highest manner, reviewing with the most circumstantial details his assumed virtuous actions, the exact opposite, of course, of the things he had really done, until he was only too glad to flee from the general ridicule. 836

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[62] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.

[63] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.

[64] Romans, Nat. Hist. of E. and W. Fla., p. 97

[65] See p. 370.

[66] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

684 The punishment usually meted out to those members of different but linked clans who had carnal intercourse with each other was "the long scratch" (sȧpka tcȧpko), performed by inserting a gar tooth or needle in the skin at the back of the neck and making a shallow cut along the spine and then on down to the heel. The pain was, of course, intense, but the public shame attending the performance, which took place in the presence of all of the people, was very much worse. As one man put it, it was to show that the offenders were no better than brutes and placed a stigma for life upon the parties undergoing it. According to another informant, instead of being dry scratched, the culprits were flogged very severely. At Chiaha the scratching took place at the northeast corner of the square ground. Mr. William McCombs, of this town, remembered that during the Civil War a Potato man and a Raccoon woman were in danger of a thrashing for having consorted together.

If the offenders belonged to the same clan the punishment was worse—often death. An Abihka Indian told me that he remembered a case in which a woman of the Wind clan was beaten to death for an offense of the kind. Another informant stated that for the first offense in such cases the long scratch was the sole punishment, but flogging for the second. Still another claimed that flogging was the penalty for the first offense, the nose and ears also being cut off. In later times they omitted cutting off the nose. Flogging was also the punishment among the Texas Alabama, but in more ancient times it is though that the penalty was more severe. At any rate, this crime was considered so dreadful by the Alabama that it was believed "the earth might burn up" in consequence of it, and the sentiment is so strong down to the present day that there are only three instances of endogamous marriages, while far more marriages take place outside of linked clans among all the people of the Creek confederacy. For instance, one of my interpreters belonged to the Panther clan, his father was an Alligator, and his wife a Bear. Another belonged to the Aktayatci, his father was a Bear, and his father's father a Panther. Still another belonged to the Deer, his father to the Raccoon, and his father's father to the Potato. The last lived at Tuḳabahchee where marriage between the Potato and Raccoon was allowed.

Related to these crimes was one mentioned by Adair when he says that the Muskogee came near putting some white traders to death because, when "in their cups," they forcibly viewed the nakedness of a woman who was reputed to be a hermaphrodite, and he states

684 that this was "according to one of their old laws against crimes of that kind." [67]

In another place Adair speaks of the nonobservance of the separation of a woman during her menstrual periods as a crime on a par with murder and adultery. "Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity," he says, "they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people." [68]

685 Punishments similar to those described above were resorted to in cases of theft, which anciently do not appear to have been common within the tribe. Hodgson, relying on an Indian trader of 15 years' experience, says of this:

"Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death—the amount stolen being disregarded. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing; the crime itself being almost unknown—when the Indians would go hunting, or 'frolicking,' for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighborhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts. Confidence and generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity has taught them suspicion and deceit." [69]

[177] It is to be feared that this is in part another case of "the good old days" which do not appear as good on close examination, but, for economic reasons, it is certain that stealing was not one of those sins characteristic of the southeastern Indians before white contact.

As to the penalties inflicted for theft, Hodgson's informant is substantially confirmed by Gregg. "Most inferior crimes," he says, "are punished by whipping; for the first offence of stealing, fifty lashes; for the second, a hundred and ears cropped," and he has already stated that death was the penalty for the third.[70]

Swan says that McGillivray introduced the law that "if an Indian steals a horse, he is liable . . . to return him, or another of equal value, and pay a fine of thirty chalks, or fifteen dollars; if he is unable to do so, he may be tied and whipped thirty lashes by the injured party. But," he adds, "as in other cases, the infliction of punishment depends, at last, on the superior force of the injured clan." [71]

687 Failure to attend the busk was penalized by the imposition of fines or confiscation of property, and similar punishments were resorted to for other derelictions in duty to the community. Thus,

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[67] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 23.

[68] See p. 359.

[69] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.

[70] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, pp. 315, 316.

[71] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 281.

the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them."[72] 687

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching.[72a] 689

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGillivray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order. 681

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable."[73]

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.[74] 685

Escaped murderers and adulterers, and those who had committed lesser offenses and had withdrawn from their people to avoid the ridicule and contempt of their fellow townsmen, formed a class from which, says Bartram, generally came the ruffians who committed depredations and murders on the frontiers.[75] The foundation of new towns may sometimes be traced to them, as indeed is frankly admitted by members of those towns themselves. It is said that the town of Wiwohka had such an origin, and it is also claimed for others like Hilibi on less satisfactory grounds. In later times many such people swelled the population of the Florida Seminole. 167 [626] [579] 621

Adair is the only writer to say anything about oaths used in adjuring a witness to give true evidence, and in this connection he does not mention the Creeks, only the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The Chickasaw and Choctaw oath he gives as *Chikloosko ke-e-u Chua*,[76] which he interprets "Do not you lie? Do you not, of a certain 695

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[72] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[72a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 120; see p. 366.

[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 281-282.

[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 512.

[76] *Lushke* is a Chickasaw word meaning "to lie"; *chiklushke* signifies "you do not lie"; *ke-e-u* (or *keyu*) is the negative. The form used here is a strengthened one.

695 truth?" And the answer is *Aklooska Ke-e-u-que-Ho*, "I do not lie; I do not, of a certain truth."[77] Regarding epithets he says, "the sharpest and most lasting affront, the most opprobrious, indelible epithet, with which one Indian can possibly brand another, is to call him in public company, *Hoobuk Waske*, Eunuchus, praeputio detecto."[78]

GENERAL CUSTOMS

000 In treating of the general customs of the Creeks it will be well to keep in mind certain cycles. Thus there were customs that concerned the cycle of human life itself, including the important events incident to existence, such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. There were certain others determined by the annual cycle of the seasons, and still others by the shorter cycle of day and night. Beyond these there were still other customs independent of changes in life or nature. It will be as well to take up the customs concerned with events incident to human life in the first place, and then proceed to the rest.

THE VITAL CYCLE

PUBERTY AND CHILDBIRTH

841 [846] The regulations imposed upon a woman at the time of her monthly periods and at childbirth resembled each other in many particulars and may be conveniently treated together. Adair's account is the oldest. It applies primarily to the Chickasaw, but there was little difference between their usages and those of the Creeks. He says:

". . . They oblige their women in their *lunar retreats*, to build small huts, at as considerable a distance from their dwelling-houses, as they imagine may be out of the enemies reach; where, during the space of that period, they are obliged to stay at the risque of their lives. Should they be known to violate that ancient law, they must answer for every misfortune that befalls any of the people, as a certain effect of the divine fire; though the lurking enemy sometimes kills them in their religious retirement. Notwithstanding they reckon it conveys a most horrid and dangerous pollution to those who touch or go near them, or walk anywhere within the circle of their retreats; and are in fear of thereby spoiling the supposed purity and power of their holy ark, which they always carry to war; yet the enemy believe they can so cleanse themselves with the consecrated herbs, roots, etc. which the chieftain carries in the beloved war-ark, as to secure them in this point from bodily danger, because it was done against their enemies.

"The non-observance of this separation, a breach of the marriage-law, and murder, they esteem the most capital crimes. When the time of the women's separation is ended, they always purify them-

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[77] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 51.

[78] Ibid., p. 138.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

selves in deep running water, return home, dress, and anoint themselves. They ascribe these monthly periods to the female structure, not to the anger of *Ishtohoollo Aba*. 841

"Correspondent to the Mosaic law of women's purification after *travail*, the Indian women absent themselves from their husbands and all public company, for a considerable time—The *Muskōhge* women are separate for three moons, exclusive of that moon in which they are delivered. . . . 846

"Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity, they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people, as the necessary effect of the divine anger for their polluting sin, contrary to their old traditional law of female purity. Like the greater part of the Israelites, it is the fear of the temporal evils, and the prospect of temporal good, that makes them so tenacious and observant of their laws. At the stated period, the Indian women's impurity is finished by ablution, and they are again admitted to social and holy privileges."[79]

One of my Creek informants spoke of the monthly course as "a strong disease." I do not know to what extent this represented the former opinion among Creeks generally. His account is as follows: 841 846

"When a woman had her monthly course, or when she had a child, she had to go outside and stay four days, or for as many days as it lasted. She lived in a house by herself, used special dishes, ate no large game animals of any kind, and did not go into the garden. She washed and put on entirely new clothing before she came back. If she should go into the garden, people thought the vegetation would be weakened. They thought that the menstrual flow could be sensed at a distance and affect the vitality of men and other creatures. A woman at that period must bathe down stream from a man. She must also pass every man she met in such a way that the wind would not blow from her to him. If these regulations were not observed, it was feared that the man's lungs and blood would be affected and that he would in consequence be weakened for life."

Says Speck, of the Tuskegee:

"During menses the woman remained in seclusion and did not come into contact with anything belonging to her household. At the approach of childbirth she also retired to the seclusion lodge and neither she nor the father resided in the usual house for the period of a month. The mother was allowed to partake of food from the time the child was born, but the father fasted for four days thereafter. For a month after the event, the mother was not allowed to prepare her husband's meals nor to eat or sleep with him, and he on his part was not allowed to touch her."[80]

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[79] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 123-124.

[80] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 116.

846 The point of particular interest about this quotation is that it contains almost the only reference to a custom resembling the couvade.

Hitchcock's information comes mainly from the Tukabahchee, and is as follows:

"When [a woman] is visited with what is peculiar to the sex . . . she is obliged to occupy a separate tent or house, to eat from separate dishes, and to live entirely apart from all others until it is passed. Then she is taken and thoroughly washed, whether in winter or summer, and returned to the family. The utensils used by her are laid aside until required for a similar purpose. No man is ever allowed to sit in the seat which has been used by a woman under those circumstances.

"At the period of childbirth the woman is obliged to leave the house and the child must be born out of the house, winter or summer. The mother must not enter the house for ten days and must not sleep in it for two months, and if she is taken sick in giving birth to a child she is not allowed to sleep in the house for four months. Before the child is allowed to suckle it is taken to a branch or spring, and water is thrown upon its tongue several times. Children are often bathed in a creek by the time they are a month old. Formerly they were rolled in the snow to make them hardy. When the child is a boy, a physic maker, a sort of priest, is called upon for a preparation which is placed upon the mother's nipple to make the child hardy and brave, and an active ball player."[81]

841 The Alabama living in Texas say that when a woman's monthly sickness (holotci' taye'ha) came on she took a blanket and went away to a small house near some stream or spring to live until it was over. She did her own cooking there and when she drank used her two hands instead of a cup. During that time she might not speak to anyone. When the time was passed she bathed and washed all of her clothes thoroughly before returning home. If she ate with her family without having done this it was thought they would fall sick. At that time a man avoided walking close to a woman for the same reason.

[881] It is the universal testimony that the regulations observed by a girl at her first menstrual period differed in no particular from those undergone by her on every recurring month.

844 When a woman was going to have a child she acted in much the same manner, only she seems not to have camped so far away. She observed the same regulations, however. An old woman acted as midwife, and for some time after its birth the child was bathed every day. Swan's words in the following quotation must not be accepted literally when he says that the young mother was "entirely alone." He says:

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[81] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

"It is an established rule, that pregnant women be entirely alone at the time of delivery; and this rule is rigidly adhered to. Nature seems to have fortified them with strength to undergo the operation without assistance. On the 12th of December, 1790, four women came from the white ground, ten miles from Little Tallassie, to sell horse-ropes to the beloved man. The day was cold and rainy, with a sleet of snow; they stayed all night. About midnight, one of them, a young woman, was taken in travail; her mother was with her, and immediately ordered her to take some fire and go into the swamp, about thirty rods from the out-house where they slept. She went alone, was delivered of her child, and at ten o'clock next morning, being bare-footed and half naked, took the infant on her back, and returned home through the rain and snow, which still continued to fall, without the least inconvenience. 844

"This circumstance, had I not been present and seen the woman with the infant on her back, I might have been doubtful of its possibility."[illegible]

Romans says: "The women are just as easily delivered as those of the other savages, and immediately after birth the infant is plunged into cold water."[illegible]

According to Jackson Lewis a prospective mother was not allowed to eat at the same table as the rest of the family. 843

Virility was a matter of pride with Creek men—the more children they had the better—and Adair says that the Indians of his acquaintance entertained "a contemptible opinion of their females that are barren—sterility they consider as proceeding from the divine anger, on account of their conjugal infidelity."[illegible] 842

Among many tribes twins were held in abhorrence and one of them was frequently killed, but Mr. Grayson informed me that the Creeks anciently considered the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient kila or prophet. 845

Sometimes the child was kept from nursing for four days and was made to swallow certain small roots to make it live long. The same effect was produced by keeping it indoors four months so that no one could see it. 846 789

Adair has the following to say regarding the sympathetic magic practiced on Chickasaw babies in order to insure them good fortune:

"Their male children they chuse to raise on the skins of panthers, on account of the communicative principle, which they reckon all nature is possessed of, in conveying qualities according to the regimen that is followed: and, as the panther is endued with many qualities, beyond any of his fellow animals in the American woods, as smelling,

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[illegible] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.

[illegible] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 98.

[illegible] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 72.

846 789 strength, cunning, and a prodigious spring, they reckon such a bed is the first rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; these they lay on the skins of fawns, or buffalo calves, because they are shy and timorous: and, if the mother be indisposed by sickness, her nearest female relation suckles the child, but only until she recovers."[illegible]

539 The following cradle songs are from the Tuggle collection, but the phonetics have been modernized, and the translations corrected in some places.

I

First Version

No'tcálit o	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit o	That is what we say
Tci'tckit o	Your mother
Lutca táko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit o	Hunting
Ayá'nkit o	Went
Notci, notci.	Sleep, sleep.

Second Version

No'tcálit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	That is what we say
Tcipo'si	Your grandmother
Lutca táko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit	Hunting
Ayá'nkit	She went
Sha'la ka'lis	She would come back [with]
Maka'tcukin	That is what she says
[Laiaka'li] istce'	The end ("Like Selah!")

Third Version

Notca	Go to sleep!
Notca	Go to sleep!
Notcá'lit	It will go to sleep
Tci'lkit	Your father
Ma'kit ayunks	That is what he said and went
Notcá'lit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	He said
Lutca ho'poaan	Terrapin hunting [he has gone]
Notcá'lit	It will go to sleep

[illegible] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 420-421.

II

A hunter passing a bear's den heard an old she bear singing to her cubs the following song: 539

A'tán	Down [the stream]
Ayatco'kaê	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Há'tci yo'ksán	Up the stream
Li'tkatcokat '[66]	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
A'łbá	Up the stream
Ayatco'kaê	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Łán iyo'ksa	To the top of the bald peak
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen

FREE TRANSLATION

If you hear the noise of the chase
Going down the stream
Then run up the stream.
If you hear the noise of the chase
Going up the stream
Then run to the top of the bald peak
Then run to the top of the bald peak

EDUCATION

Among early writers Swan and Adair have the most to say about the education of children. Swan declares: 855

"The father has no care of his own child. The invariable custom is, for the women to keep and rear all the children, having the entire control over them until they are able to provide for themselves. They appear to have a sufficient natural affection for them; they never strike or whip a child for its faults. Their mode of correction is singular: if a child requires punishment, the mother scratches its leg and thighs with the point of a pin or needle, until it bleeds; some keep a jaw-bone of a gar-fish, having two teeth, entirely for the purpose. 861

"They say that this punishment has several good effects; that it not only deters the child from mischief, but it loosens the skin, and gives a pliancy to the limbs; and the profusion of blood that follows the operation, serves to convince the child that the loss of it is not attended with danger, or loss of life: that when he becomes a man and a warrior, he need not shrink from an enemy, or apprehend that the wounds he may receive, and the loss of blood, will endanger his life."[67] [826.

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[66] This seems to be the nearest word to Tuggle's "Lit kahin [illegible]."

[67] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. [illegible].

861 The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was [751] inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

861 Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:

622 "It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an [838] opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [tcihaksi kánia he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Haksinna* [tcihaksina], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [tciabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"[illegible]

861 In another place the same writer remarks that in his time chil-
609 dren who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

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[illegible] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156-157.

given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and 861
thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched."[29] 609

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his 593
offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural 604
indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the 614
bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of
the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan[29a] 622
in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a 861
part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in 515
the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of 855
the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikáno′ plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)."[30]

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[29] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 412.

[29a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

[30] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 24-25.

515 From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice:

"However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding [889] day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin."[91]

He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them."[92] This is somewhat at variance with the information I [855] myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.[93]

721 554 Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair."[94]

703 554 Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

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[91] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 120.

[92] Ibid., p. 121.

[93] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 25.

[94] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 280; cf. p. 434.

men who had obtained eagle feathers,[56] and in later times the Semi- 703
nole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain 554
number of deer.

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of educa- 756
tion had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kīla), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mysteries were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in
his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I 538
have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, 791
and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries.

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man 177
before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insub- 888
ordination of the rising generation:

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[57]

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[56] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 80.

[57] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

MARRIAGE

582 Accounts of marriage customs among our southern tribes vary so much that we must suppose the same was true of the customs themselves. This variation may have been due to difference in nationality, but it is rarely possible to determine to what groups if any the several accounts belong. The only exceptions are the description by Adair which, as usual, may be assumed to apply mainly to the Chickasaw and the notes by Bossu derived from the Alabama. Adair has the following to say on this subject:

"It is usual for an elderly man to take a girl, or sometimes a child to be his wife, because she is capable of receiving good impressions in that tender state: frequently, a moon elapses after the contract is made, and the value received, before the bridegroom sleeps with the bride, and on the marriage day, he does not appear before her till night introduces him, and then without tapers. . . .

"The Indians also are so fond of variety, that they ridicule the white people, as a tribe of narrow-hearted, and dull constitutioned animals, for having only one wife at a time; and being bound to live with and support her, though numberless circumstances might require a contrary conduct. When a young warrior cannot dress *alamode America*, he strikes up one of those matches for a few moons, which they term *Toopsa Táwah*,[97] 'a make haste marriage,' because it wants the usual ceremonies, and duration of their other kind of marriages. . . .

584 "When an Indian makes his first address to the young woman he intends to marry, she is obliged by ancient custom to sit by him till he hath done eating and drinking, whether she likes or dislikes him; but afterward, she is at her own choice whether to stay or retire. When
585 the bridegroom marries the bride, after the usual prelude, he takes a choice ear of corn, and divides it in two before witnesses, gives her one half in her hand, and keeps the other half to himself; or otherwise, he gives her a deer's foot, as an emblem of the readiness with which she ought to serve him: in return, she presents him with some cakes of bread, thereby declaring her domestic care and gratitude in return for the offals; for the men feast by themselves and the women eat the remains. When this short ceremony is ended, they go to bed like an honest couple.

"Formerly, this was an universal custom among the native Americans; but this, like every other usage of theirs, is wearing out apace. The West-Floridians, in order to keep their women subject to the law of adultery, bring some venison or buffalo's flesh to the house of their nominal wives, at the end of every winter's hunt: that is reckoned a sufficient annual tye of their former marriages, although the husbands do not cohabit with them. The Muskóhge men, if

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[97] This should be *tuskpa łauaya*, from *tuskpa*, in haste, and *łauaya*, to marry.

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newly married, are obliged by ancient custom, to get their own relations to hoe out the corn-fields of each of their wives, that their marriages may be confirmed: and the more jealous, repeat the custom every year, to make their wives subject to the laws against adultery. But the Indians in general, reckon that before the bridegroom can presume to any legal power over the bride, he is after the former ceremonies, or others something similar, obliged to go into the woods to kill a deer, bring home the carcass of venison, and lay it down at her house wrapt up in its skin; and if she opens the pack, carries it into the house, and then dresses and gives him some of it to eat with cakes before witnesses, she becomes his lawful wife, and obnoxious to all the penalties of an adulteress. . . .

"When the Indians would express a proper marriage, they have a word adapted according to their various dialects, to give them a suitable idea of it; but when they are speaking of their sensual marriage bargains, they always term it, 'buying a woman;' for example—they say with regard to the former, *Che-Awalas*, 'I shall marry you,' . . . *Che-Awala Awa*, 'I shall not marry you.' But the name of their market marriages is *Otoolpha*.[57a] [They say] *Eho Achumbàras, Saookcháa*,[57b] 'In the spring I shall buy a woman, if I am alive.' Or *Eho Achumbara Awa*,[58] 'I shall not buy a woman,' *Sallbasa toogat*,[59] 'for indeed I am poor.' . . .

"They sometimes marry by deputation or proxy. The intended bridegroom sends so much in value to the nearest relations of the intended bride, as he thinks she is worth: if they are accepted, it is a good sign that her relations approve of the match, but she is not bound by their contract alone; her consent must likewise be obtained, but persuasions most commonly prevail with them. However, if the price is reckoned too small, or the goods too few, the law obliges them to return the whole, either to himself, or some of his nearest kindred. If they love the goods, as they term it . . . the loving couple may in a short time bed together upon trial, and continue or discontinue their love according as their fancy directs them. If they like each other, they become an honest married couple when the nuptial ceremony is performed, as already described. When one of their chieftains is married, several of his kinsmen help to kill deer and buffalos, to make a rejoicing marriage feast, to which their relations and neighbours are invited: there the young warriors sing with their two chief musicians, who beat on their wet deer skin tied over the mouth of a large clay-pot, and raise their voices, singing *Yo Yo*, etc. When they are tired with feasting, dancing, and

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[57a] Probably from itola, "to lie down."

[57b] Ohoyo, "woman"; achumpaias, "I buy"; saokchaha, "I hoe up land."

[58] Ohoyo achumbaia awa.

[59] Sallbásha, "I am poor"; tuk, sign of recent past time; at, demonstrative article

585 singing the Epithalamium, they depart with friendly glad hearts, from the house of praise." [1]

Bossu's description of Alabama marriage customs is short.

"The savages are ordinarily satisfied with one wife, of whom they are excessively jealous. When a savage passes through a village and [836] has no wife, he hires a girl for a night or two, according to his fancy, and the parents find in that nothing to blame; [2] they disturb themselves very little about their girl, giving as a reason that she has the right to her own body; the daughters of the savages do not abuse this liberty at all; they find it for their interest to appear modest in order to be sought in marriage; but with regard to the married women they [581] say that by marriage they have sold their liberty, and therefore they ought not to have any other men besides their husband. On their side [the men] reserve the right to have many wives. . . .

"Marriage . . . is of a simple nature, and of no other form than mutual consent of the parties. The future husband makes presents of skins and provisions at the cabin of the father of his intended; after the meal there is a dance, they sing of the war exploits of the ancestors of the husband. Next day the oldest man presents the wife to the parents of her husband. That is the entire marriage ceremony. . . . Those who are good warriors and good hunters choose the prettiest girls; the others have only the rejected and the ugly." [3]

From Romans:

[595] "Polygamy is here allowed, though not generally made use of; they marry without much ceremony, seldom any more than to make some presents to the parents, and to have a feast or hearty regale at the hut of the wife's father; when once married the women are bound to the strictest observation of obedience and conjugal fidelity, [the Indians] saying that she that has once sold herself, can not any more dispose of any thing whatever; and of their wives they are the most unreasonably jealous of any nation under the sun." [4]

Says Bartram:

"Amongst some of the bands in the Muscogulge confederacy, I was informed the mystery is performed after the following manner. When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a Cane or Reed, such as they stick down at the hills of their Bean vines for their support: with this (after having obtained her parents' or nearest relations' consent) he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and associates, and in the presence of the wedding guests, he sticks his Reed down, upright in the ground; when soon after his sweet-heart comes forth with another

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[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 139-141.

[2] Girls were also offered to strangers as a mark of hospitality; cf. Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 17.

[3] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 19-21.

[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 97-98.

Reed, which she sticks down by the side of his, when they are married; 585
then they exchange Reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, which is celebrated with feasting, music and dancing; each one of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contributes something towards establishing the new family. As soon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be constructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finished in a day's time.

"The greatest accomplishments to recommend a young man to his favourite maid, are to prove himself a brave warrior, and a cunning, industrious hunter.

"They marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient custom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is seldom an instance of their separating after they have children. If it should so happen, the mother takes the children, under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood.

"The Muscogulges allow of polygamy in the utmost latitude; every [595]
man takes as many wives as he chooses, but the first is queen, and others are handmaids and associates.

"It is common for a great man amongst them, who has already [582]
half a dozen wives, if he sees a child of eight or nine years of age, who pleases him, and he can agree with her parents or guardians, to marry her and take her into his house at that age."[5]

Swan also recognizes that there was a diversity in marriage rites: 584
"Courtship is always begun by proxy. The man, if not immediately 585
acquainted with the lady of his choice, sends her his talk (as it is termed), accompanied with small presents of clothing, by some woman of her acquaintance. If the young woman takes his talk, his proxy then asks the consent of her uncles, aunts, and brothers (the father having no voice or authority in the business), which being obtained, the young woman goes to him, and they live together during pleasure or convenience. This is the most common mode of taking a wife, and at present the most fashionable.

"But if a man takes a wife conformably to the more ancient and serious custom of the country, it requires a longer courtship, and some established formalities.

"The man, to signify his wishes, kills a bear with his own hands, and sends a panful of the oil to his mistress. If she receives the oil, he next attends and helps her hoe the corn in her field; afterwards plants her beans; and when they come up, he sets poles for them to run upon. In the meantime he attends her corn, until the beans

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[5] Bartram, Travels, pp. [illegible]

584 have run up and entwined their vines about the poles. This is
585 thought emblematical of their approaching union and bondage; and they then take each other for better or for worse, and are bound to all intents and purposes. A widow having been bound in the above manner, is considered an adulteress if she speaks or makes free with any man, within four summers after the death of her husband.

"With a couple united in the above manner, the tie is considered more strongly binding than in the other case; being under this obligation to each other, the least freedom with any other person, either in the man or woman, is considered as adultery, and invariably punished by the relations of the offended party, by whipping, and cutting off the hair and ears close to the head." [6]

Hawkins's account is shorter and his description recalls more nearly the ceremonies existing in later times:

"A man who wants a wife never applies in person; he sends his sister, his mother, or some other female relation, to the female relations of the woman he names. They consult the brothers and uncles on the maternal side, and sometimes the father; but this is a compliment only, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail. If the party applied to approve of the match, they answer accordingly, to the woman who made the application. The bridegroom then gets together a blanket, and such other articles of clothing as he is able to do, and sends them by the women to the females of the family of the bride. If they accept of them the match is made; and the man may then go to her house as soon as he chooses. And when he has built a house, made his crop and gathered it in, then made his hunt and brought home the meat, and put all this in the possession of his wife, the ceremony ends, and they are married; or as they express it, the woman is bound. From the first going to the house of the woman, till the ceremony ends, he is completely in possession of her.

"This law has been understood differently, by some hasty cuckolds, who insist, that when they have assisted the woman to plant her crop, the ceremony ends, and the woman is bound. A man never marries in his own tribe [i. e., clan]." [7]

Stiggins's testimony is to much the same effect:

"It is customary among them when a man selects the one that he wants for wife frequently without speaking to her or consulting her approbation to open the subject of his wishes for an alliance in their family, or have it done by some of his kinspeople, to some of her relatives though most properly to the uncle of the woman on the mother's side who has entire control of his nieces in cases of marriage or otherwise. Should the offer meet his approbation he does not protract his consent longer than he can lay the proposal before 584 her relations of the mother's side who are counted her mutual kinsmen 585 and women, in which assembly the candidate's disposition and other qualities are discust. Neither the father nor any of the woman's father's family is ever consulted in the marriage of his children, as he and they are not of the same family, since the primogenitureship of all families descends from the mother. . . . When the uncle or relation has informed the rest of his kindred or clansmen of the proposal of marriage and by whom made, and [has indicated] that he approves the proposed match the rest of the family seldom refuse their assent; there is no fuss made of fortune, position, or chattels on either side. After such consultation, if the suitor should visit their dwelling before they do him, he is informed of the family acquiescence, and the bridal bed being publicly made for the pair, there is a conclusion of the courtship and marriage. After the consummation of the marriage and he finds her in clothes, should she be the first wife formally married to him and passes the *Boss ke tah* with him she is received as his actual wife by his kinsfolks and all others. After the solemnization of the new corn feast passes over them she is bound to him in the conception of his family during life or his pleasure. . . . As polygamy is only admitted among the 595 men by the wife's consent, they use a great deal of craft to obtain it, in order to keep clear of the crime of adultery. All his later wives have to stay at their homes unless his wife should conclude with herself to let one stay with her in the house and do all the drudgery of the place as a waiting maid. By his wife's consent he can take as many wives or concubines as he chooses to maintain, but should his wife disapprove of his having a concubine and he obtain one against her will his wife's relations or clanspeople have it in their power to beat him and his concubine or second wife with sticks and cut off both their ears, after which he is separated from his wife and he has to retain the one beaten on his account. Nevertheless he has it in his power to keep his old wife single for four years or [586] four *Booske tahs* unless she should elope with a man and elude the vigilance of his clan to the ensuing *Booske tah*. Then she is clear of punishment for her adultery, and ever after she is finally separated from him and the control of his clanswomen." [1]

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[6] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 268-269.

[7] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 73; also p. 42 on the authority of an old Abihka chief named Co-tau-lau or Tus-se-ki-ah Mic-co.

The information on this subject which Hitchcock gathered from 584 the Tukabahchee Indians contains some items not given by anyone 585 else. He says:

"A young man wishing to marry a girl to whom he has taken a fancy goes to an aunt or some near female connection of his own and tells her his wishes. She then goes to the aunt or some near connection of the girl and makes it known. This connection of the

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[1] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 21-22.

584 girl then goes to the parents of the girl and tells the story. The
585 girl is not consulted in the case. If the parents are willing, a time for the ceremony of marriage is appointed by the connections. At the time appointed an outer house or corn crib is selected near the girl's house and a bowl of sofkee (boiled corn) is placed under the projecting shed of the crib in sight from the house; and here the girl has the privilege of exerting a veto. The girl is informed of the whole business and if she chooses to allow the man to steal up and take a spoonful of sofkee without her seeing him, it is a marriage and the parties sleep the first night in the corn crib. This has been the old custom, but is going out of use. After the ceremony the young man is not allowed to visit the house of his wife by day for the period of a month, but must visit his wife after dark and go away before day. The sofkee part of the ceremony is now generally
595 dispensed with. If a married man takes another wife, the first wife may assent to it passively or, if she chooses, she may whip the woman, but in this case she must move away and yield all her rights to the latter, who becomes the principal wife. In this way the man may take as many women as he pleases and is able to support. The wife, in the exercise of her prerogative, has a right to the assistance of her female relations and when it is exercised the ceremony is severe and makes a lasting impression. The object is to disfigure their victim and the wife uses her nails, scratches the face of the new wife, and whips her with switches. (The severity of this ceremony must exercise a considerable restraint upon both husband and women, making it necessary to consult the wife in advance in order that her assent may be assured, before her rights are encroached upon. Alexander said he knew of a case (*saw it*—and heard the language) when a wife exercised her right, saying as she laid on the lash, "You think it is honey, but I will make it vinegar before I'm done with you.")[10]

585 "Among the Creeks" (says Claiborne), "the marriage ceremony is this: The man gives the woman a piece of venison or some kind of meat, and she gives him an ear of corn in the presence of witnesses. They are then man and wife, at least until the green-corn dance. Then the married couple are released if either of them thinks proper to break the contract. In such case the woman keeps the children."[11]

584 From the accounts obtained by myself it is evident that the regular
614 marriage or "binding" was a clan (or rather exogamous group) affair and that it could be initiated by the clan of the youth or that of the girl. According to one statement the maternal uncles and cousins of a girl—i. e., the people of her clan—talked the matter over—probably at a clan council—and decided upon the young man who ap-

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[10] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[11] Claiborne, Miss., vol. I, p. 492.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

peared to them most eligible, one who was a good hunter, a good 584 614
warrior, or a good ball player, or all of these, he being also of course outside of the prohibited degrees. All his qualifications were reviewed and all possible objections, consanguineal and other, considered. After a majority of the clan relations had agreed they informed the girl's parents, and the latter told their daughter to make her bed ready. Then the youth was brought, and, pointing to the bed, they said to him, "There is your bed. Lie in it." Then they went away and left them.

On the other hand, at a council of the clan to which a certain youth belonged it might be suggested that he was a nice fellow and getting along in years, and that such and such a girl was well brought up and cared for and an altogether desirable match, and that they had better send over to her people and ask for her. Then they would send someone over. The people of the girl's clan would meet and say "In a few days you will hear from us." The time having elapsed, word would be sent, and, if it were favorable, in a few days more the young man was conducted thither. Then the parents of the girl informed her what was expected of her and told her to prepare her bed. They brought the youth in and told the two that that was to be their bed henceforth.[12] In olden times this was the only legal marriage; nevertheless, from what has been quoted it is apparent that temporary unions were tolerated in the nature of trial marriages or with women who had become outcasts.

Speck was told that a wife sometimes accompanied her husband to 591
his town and resided there, in which case the children belonged to that town.[13] This must have happened rather rarely and in any case would not affect the clanship of the children, which always remained the same as that of the mother.

The testimony obtained from the Texas Alabama is to much the 585
same effect as the foregoing. Marriages were arranged by the [584]
clan uncles and aunts, and the father and mother of both parties, who first agreed together and then talked to the young people in order to presuade them to agree. When this was accomplished the girl prepared her couch for her husband, who came after all were asleep and got up and left before daylight. He did the same thing every night for about a week, and for a month afterwards his wife's people did not talk much to him nor he to them.

These ceremonies apply particularly to marriage between quite young people. It is said that in marriages which took place later in life the parties concerned had as much voice in the matter as their clansmen and clanswomen. Probably they had more, as the

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[12] Sometimes a separate house was put up for them before the wedding took place. See p. 372, and Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

[13] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

585 prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . .

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

595 "A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

181 611 836 "Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue."[14]

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.[15] It is an old ex post facto explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

583 It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

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[14] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272

[15] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 21.

traceable directly to false matings brought about by official action. 583
In their youth a man and a woman might be passive victims of mismating but, as we have seen, in later years they became to a great extent masters and mistresses of their own inclinations which could then be satisfied. Another way in which this could be brought about was through the unofficial marriage, although this was often for no more lofty motive than the gratification of sexual passion. Still it was one of the safety valves which nature, outraged by unnatural official marriages, constructed for itself.

Regarding divorce in late times I was told that if a married couple 586
did not get along well their relatives talked to them, and if they still kept pulling apart they finally let them separate.

Bossu says on this subject:

"A man among these peoples has the liberty of leaving his wife, but that seldom happens; if a woman is discovered committing adultery the least evil that can happen to her is to be repudiated. Then the husband abandons the cabin; if he has children he takes care of the boys, and his wife of the girls; the wife must, however, remain a widow for a year, while the husband can remarry at once. He can take back his wife; she, however, can not marry a second time until the end of a year." [16]

Other writers are more detailed. Hawkins says:

"This (divorce) is at the choice of either of the parties; the man may marry again as soon as he will; but she is bound till all the *Boosketau* of that year are over excepting in a case of marriage and parting in a season when there is no planting [or more properly speaking, during the season the man resides at the house of the woman and has possession of her during the continuation of the marriage ceremony]; in that case the woman is equally free to connect herself again as soon as she pleases. There is an inconsistency in the exception above since, in fact, in such season there can be no marriage; but the chiefs, in their report on this article, mentioned it as an exception, and this practice in these cases of half marriage prevails universally. As soon as a man goes to the house of his bride, he is in complete possession of her till the ceremony ends, and during this period the exception will apply. Marriage gives no right to the husband over the property of his wife, and when they part she keeps the children, the property belonging to them and her own." [17]

Swan says:

"If a separation is desired by either the man or his wife, it is commonly consented to, and takes place without ceremony; but he or she is not at liberty to take any other person as wife or husband,

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[16] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 29.

[17] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 73-74. The bracketed clause is wanting in the Library of Congress copy of the Ms. It repeats the second sentence from the end.

586 until after the celebration of the ensuing busk, at which, if they attend and partake of the physic and bathing, they are at once exonerated from the marriage-contract, and at liberty to choose again: but to be only intimate with any other person, between the time of separation and the ceremony of the next busk, is deemed as adultery, and would incur the penalty of whipping and cropping, as the custom of the country requires. This punishment, however, depends, sometimes, on the superior strength of the clan to which the injured party belongs." [18]

Bartram evidently has in mind only cases of adultery when he says that a divorced woman was looked upon as a harlot.[19]

Says Stiggins:

"Should she [the wife] be indolent and given to quarrel with him [her husband] and inattentive to his wants and disobedient to his commands, in any of the aforesaid cases he can make complaint to her family of such and quit her and marry another without a murmur from her clan or family. But in case she should prove a lewd woman and inconstant to him, she can be punished by his family or clanspeople by beating her with large sticks until she cannot move and the cutting off both her ears close to her head, though the punishment may be inflicted contrary to the will or consent of her husband, which frequently happens. Then after her punishment for her inconstancy it is optional with her husband to repudiate or retain her still as his wife." [20]

The option of the husband is, as has been seen, denied by several other authorities.[21] As Stiggins's sources of information were of the best, it is probable either that the custom varied in different parts of the Creek area or that in his time the usage in this particular had begun to alter.

589 From an old Creek Indian I have the following account of the customs observed with respect to widows and widowers:

"A woman remained with her husband's parents for four years after the beginning of her widowhood. At the expiration of that period her husband's sisters would dress her up, take her to a dance, and tell her to enjoy herself. Then the people of her husband's clan would hold a council and select a good man for her. If she did not like him she was free to marry whomsoever she chose. Their duty was completed. It was the same when a man was left a widower, only then they talked to the woman fixed upon until she consented. After a man's wife died they would build a scaffold right over her grave and let the widower lie there four days. If he went with another woman before four years were completed they cut the end of his nose off and the end of the woman's nose and turned them

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[18] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273.

[19] Bartram, Travels, p. 111.

[20] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 22.

[21] See pp. 350-351.

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loose. If a widow went astray during her mourning period they would cut her ears off and those of her accomplice. If a widow walked into a stream and a man walked into the same stream above so that the water ran down from him to her they were apt to cut off the ears of the two in just the same way. In passing a widow a man had to go to leeward of her if he wished to pass and escape punishment. (The same rules probably applied to widowers as well.) After the widow had received a new husband or the widower a new wife possession was given for one night, and then if they did not like each other they separated."

The next is from Sonak hadjo, chief of the Mikasuki:

"When a man died his wife had to remain a widow for four years, and during all of that time her condition was marked by the fact that she did not take any care of her hair. Every four months, however, another woman combed and cared for it for her. The widow also wore little clothing, merely a sheet around her body in even the coldest weather. When the four years were expired she bathed, put on good clothing, combed her hair, and waited until there was a big dance. Then her husband's sister, his niece, or some other near female relative of his led her to the dance after it had begun. If there was a suitable single male relative of her former husband he married her; if not the female relative said: 'I have no one to support you, so I will let you go. Go and look for yourself.' A widower had to wait only four months; otherwise he behaved similarly."

The following account comes from the Alabama Indians of Texas:

"After a man had lost his wife he remained in the house naked for four days. At the end of that time his wife's brothers brought a shirt and put it on him, and they all took their guns and went hunting. Perhaps a month later his wife's brothers again came to him, took him to a creek and washed his head and dressed up his hair and afterward they took him to the ball ground. There he sat, looking at the ground sadly, as if he were sick, but afterward he could go anywhere by himself. He could not marry outside of the clan of his former wife until four years were past, but he might marry his wife's sister in less time, and by his wife's sister is apparently meant any of the women of his first wife's clan. If he were a good man he could get his wife's sister easily; if not she would not be given to him.

"A woman left a widow remained in the house for four days, perhaps longer, and after some time, perhaps a year, her husband's sisters would come to her, take her to a stream, wash her head, dress her hair, give her a complete outfit of clean clothing, and carry her to the ball ground. There were six to ten women in all, one of whom acted as leader. Afterward the woman could go to the ball ground as much as she pleased."

The man who furnished this account had himself been a widower twice, and therefore he ought to have been well informed regarding the regulations.

The best early account of ceremonies connected with widowhood is given by Stiggins, who says:

"It is customary for the clans people not to tolerate the widowed man to play jokes or touch a woman nor a woman a man during their [period of mourning].[32]

"As I have gone through their marriage ceremonies and touched on their state of widowhood,[33] I think it necessary to enlarge and be more explicit on the subject, therefore after marriage, should they live inseparable during their life, on the death of either the survivor is made a widow of in the following manner: viz., admitting that the woman should be the survivor, immediately after the man's burial the women on his mother's side connected to him, or his clan women, who are all the widow's guardians or retainers, proceed to divest her of her gay apparel and her other ornaments of dress such as brooches, beads and necklaces, and unloose her hair and spread it over her shoulders, in which situation she is to remain and consider herself a mourner for four years for her deceased husband, unless she is sooner relieved by the compassion of her retainers though at any time of her widowhood one of her deceased husband's brothers or cousins on his mother's side can relieve her by taking her to wife himself. Should he have a wife at the time it cannot be murmured at by any one as he is in duty naturally bound to raise seed to his brother and she is at his option or disposal; or she can be relieved by the clan women after a consultation. Should they think her in a bad situation they very often, before the expiration of her widowhood, have compassion on her forlorn state and then give her a comb to comb her hair, or some of them comb her hair for her, and [they] invest her with such clothes and ornaments as those of which she was divested for her widowhood.[34] After they have gone through this ceremony with her she is at liberty to marry whom she pleases, but should she not await the formal relief of her retainers, but in contempt of their prerogative, take to combing of her hair or marry a husband, they can treat her inconstancy in this as in any other case of adultery should she do it before the expiration of four years or four *Booske tahs,* from the death of her husband. But if she marries a man and elopes with him and eludes the vigilance of her retainers to the expiration of the ensuing anniversary of the new corn crop then she is free of their constraint and can live with her husband without fear of punishment. Her husband is inseparably bound to her and cannot be implicated in the crime of adultery with her, all the crime being imputed to her lewd disposition and incontinency. The same constraint, ceremony, and restrictions are observed with the man should his wife die first." [25]

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[32] A line is wanting in the original manuscript at this point, but the words in brackets complete the sense sufficiently well.

[33] See pp. 372-373.

[34] On this point compare what Adair says (pp. [illegible]) and the following from Gregg: "She (the widow) remains in strict mourning for four years, with dishevelled hair and without combing—unless the relatives of the deceased interfere; whereby it is sometimes put an end to in a few months, provided the sincerity of her grief be evident and her conduct meritorious." (Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 316.)

From a somewhat later period comes this information:

"When a husband dies his female relations have a right to prevent the marriage of the widow for four years. After the husband is buried the relatives take the widow from the grave to the nearest branch and immerse her in water; if once, she must remain a widow for one year; if twice, two years, and so on, but they can not exceed four years. If there is no branch near they perform the ceremony by dashing a bucket of water upon her, once, twice, and so on. . . . After the immersion she is carried back to the house where her husband died and is shut up within the house and kept there four days. A little girl is appointed to attend her and supply her with food, and no other person is allowed to go near her. In four cases out of five the husband is buried in the house where he died, under the bed, and the woman is obliged to sleep in the bed the four nights of her confinement to the house. A shed or small house is prepared near the dwelling, and after the four days have expired she is assigned to that house and compelled to live there during the period of her widowhood—one to four years. During that time she is not allowed to make or receive visits. No one is allowed to enter the house, though they may talk to her at the door. She is not allowed to wash her face, or comb her hair, or change her dress. The little girl attendant may "look" her head, and is privileged to eat what she finds—and she generally avails herself of the privilege. At the expiration of the widowhood the deceased's relatives repair to the house, take possession of the widow and wash her from head to foot (it is the female relations who do all this), comb her hair and dress it, and clothe her completely, often with a great deal of finery, and convey her to the Square, where a dance has been appointed for the occasion. She looks at the dance and joins in it if she chooses, and the same female relatives select some man to pass the night with her, and release her, as it is called, from her widowhood. The man must be single, [25a] and if after the night's acquaintance the parties agree, they live together as man and wife; if not, they separate and are free to do as they please. If a wife dies her female relations take the man to the branch [and treat him as in the case of a widow] except [that] the widower cannot be retained a widower over four months, and at the expiration of the time the women select a partner for the night as before." [26]

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[25] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 23-24.

[25a] This is in case the widow is not espoused by her brother-in-law.

[26] Hitchcock Ms. notes.

589 Elsewhere the same observer informs us that, in 1840, the Creek national council undertook to reduce the period of enforced widowhood to 12 months, but so much opposition was aroused that they were forced to restore the old law the next year.[27]

[736] The Tukabahchee chief informed Hitchcock that when there were widows or orphans with no one to take care of them he called the people out and had them put up a house for them, fence in a garden, and plant corn.

Claiborne says:

"With the Creeks, when a man dies, his wives can not dress up, or go into company, or attend the dances or appear in the town square, or bind up their hair for the period of 12 months, during which time they must remain chaste under the penalty of beating and cropping as above stated. The relations of the deceased husband have the privilege of releasing them from the observance of this custom before the year is out, but they seldom do so."[28]

[587 614] The fact comes out plainly in all of these accounts that the clan, or rather the family group within the clan, which has furnished the husband or the wife of the widow or widower feels itself under obligations to supply his or her place, and on the other hand that it has the prior right to supply it. That not merely the man but the group had acquired the right to the individual is shown clearly by Swan's statement above that a widow who made free with any man until after four summers was considered an adulteress. This does not mean a communal right, however; merely a right to furnish the bereaved party with another spouse.

As might have been anticipated, Adair has a great deal to say on this subject, though it must be understood that his remarks apply more particularly to the Chickasaw:

"All the Indian widows, by an established strict penal law, mourn for the loss of their deceased husbands; and among some tribes for the space of three or four years. . . .

"The Muskohge widows are obliged to live a chaste single life, for the tedious space of four years; and the Chikkasah women, for the term of three, at the risque of the law of adultery being executed against the recusants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the first year of her widowhood, she is obliged through the fear of shame to lament her loss, in very intense audible strains. . . .

"Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diversions, at the penalty of an adulteress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this respect. The place of interment is also calculated to wake the widow's grief, for he is intombed in the house under her bed. And if he was a war-leader, she is obliged for the first moon, to sit in the day-time under his mourning war-pole,[29] which is decked with all his martial trophies, and must be heard to cry with bewailing notes. But none of them are fond of that month's supposed religious duty, it chills, or sweats, and wastes them so exceedingly; for they are allowed no shade, or shelter. This sharp rigid custom excites the women to honour the marriage-state, and keeps them obliging to their husbands, by anticipating the visible sharp difficulties which they must undergo for so great a loss. The three or four years monastic life, which she lives after his death, makes it her interest to strive by every means, to keep in his lamp of life, be it ever so dull and worthless; if she is able to shed tears on such an occasion, they often proceed from self-love. We can generally distinguish between the widow's natural mourning voice, and her tuneful laboured strain. She doth not so much bewail his death, as her own recluse life, and hateful state of celibacy; which to many of them, is as uneligible, as it was to the Hebrew ladies. . . .

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[27] See p. [illegible].

[28] Claiborne, Miss., vol. I, p. [illegible].

"The Choktah Indians hire mourners to magnify the merit and loss of their dead, and if their tears can not be seen to flow, their shrill voices will be heard to cry, which answers the solemn chorus a great deal better. However, they are no way churlish of their tears, for I have seen them, on the occasion, pour them out, like fountains of water: but after having thus tired themselves, they might with equal propriety have asked by-standers in the matter of the native Irish, Ara ci fuar bass—'And who is dead?'

"They formerly dressed their head with black moss on those solemn occasions; and the ground adjacent to the place of interment, they now beat with laurel-bushes, the women having their hair disheveled. . . .

"The [Chickasaw] Indian women mourn three moons, for the death of any female of their own family or tribe. During that time they are not to anoint, or tie up their hair; neither is the husband of the deceased allowed, when the offices of nature do not call him, to go out of the house, much less to join any company; and in that time of mourning he often lies among the ashes. The time being expired, the female mourners meet in the evening of the beginning of the fourth moon, at the house where their female relation is intombed, and stay there till morning, when the nearest surviving old kinswoman crops their fore-locks pretty short. This they call *Ehó Intàhnáah*,[30] 'the women have mourned the appointed time.' . . .

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[29] The war-pole is a small peeled tree painted red, the top and boughs cut off short; it is fixt in the ground opposite to his door, and all his implements of war, are hung on the short boughs of it, till they rot.—Adair. The use of this war-pole was not shared by the Indians of the Creek confederacy.

[30] [illegible] [illegible], probably from [illegible], "to rise up from a prostrate position."

589 When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

"Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself. . . .

"The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, 'Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;' the most degrading of epithets." [illegible]

548 A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. [302] Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

171 589 It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.[illegible] It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive;* they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

562 592 Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, "In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

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[illegible] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Milfort, Mém., p. [illegible].

as it appeared in 1912. This was largely because it was thought that 562
to sleep much with women enervated a man and incapacitated him [833]
as a warrior.[30] Adair says that in their town houses the women 592
were separated from the warriors, and were merely allowed to sit
at each side of the entrance "as if they were only casual spectators,"[31]
and anciently they had no seats on the square ground. Among the
Chickasaw six old beloved women were the only participants in the
annual ceremony.[32]

Regarding the labors of women the last mentioned writer declares: 462
"The women are the chief, if not the only, manufacturers; the men
judge that if they performed that office, it would exceedingly depreciate them." [33] In fact women anciently, in addition to the indoors
work of the house, made all of the pottery and basketry, and did all
of the spinning and weaving of bison hair, mulberry bark, etc. The
initial preparation of skins was sometimes performed by men, but
most of the subsequent work upon it fell to the women. They made
drying frames and dried peaches and other fruits upon them, and
they of course pounded the corn and did the cooking.

The principal occupations of the men were hunting, ball playing,
war, and rites connected with the use of medicine and ceremonial
affairs. They built the houses, the corncribs, and the structures
belonging to the square ground, felled trees, made canoes and mortars,
drums, pipes, calumets, ball sticks, and of course in olden times the
axes and the arrows, bows, war clubs, and most of the other articles
used in hunting and war. When hunting at a distance from home [224]
they cut up the meat, loaded it on horses, and brought it back. It
is evident that their labors amounted to considerable in the aggregate,
although they were not so evenly sustained throughout the year as
those of women. The smaller garden plots were cared for almost [241]
exclusively by women, but the town fields were tended by individuals
of both sexes, and Bartram says that "there are not one-third as
many females as males seen at work in their plantations; for, at this
season of the year, by a law of the people, they do not hunt, the game
not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in, so
the males have little else with which to employ themselves." [34] Later
on in the season the same writer tells us that the labor falling upon
women was harder.

"In the hunting season, that is in autumn and winter, the men are [224]
generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls
on the women, who are than obliged to undergo a good deal of labor,
such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they
toat on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the
ancient large towns, where the commons and old fields extend some

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[30] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.

[31] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 152.

[32] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

[33] Ibid., p. 423.

[34] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 31.

462 miles to the woodland. But this labor is in part alleviated by the assistance of the old men, who are past their hunting days and no longer participate in the wars; who remain in the towns. They have likewise the aid of horses in this work. The women also gather an incredible amount of nuts and acorns, which they manufacture into oil for annual consumption."[35]

562 Altogether Bartram's judgment regarding the position of women among the Creeks was very favorable.

"You may depend upon my assertion that there is no people any where who love their women more than these Indians do, or men of better understanding in distinguishing the merits of the opposite sex, or more faithful in rendering suitable compensation. They are courteous and polite to the women, and gentle, tender and fondling, even to an appearance of effeminacy, to their offspring. An Indian never attempts, nay, he can not use towards a woman amongst them any indelicacy or indecency, either in action or language.

"I never saw or heard of an instance of an Indian beating his wife or other female, or reproving them in anger or in harsh language. And the women make a suitable and grateful return; for they are discreet, modest, loving, faithful, and affectionate to their husbands."[36]

462 On the other hand we find Pope saying:

"The cultivation of the soil and almost every domestic drudgery are imposed upon their women, who are less prolific than ours; probably owing to their hard labor and excessively coarse and scanty diet."[37]

Romans says: "The labour of the field is all done by the women,"[38] and in another place he thus enlarges upon their work in general. The "principal exercises [of the men] at home are ball playing in the manner afore related, and the just mentioned dances; the women are employed, besides the cultivation of the earth, in dressing the victuals, preparing, scraping, braining, rubbing and smoaking the Roe skins, making macksens of them, spinning buffaloe wool, making salt, preparing cassine drink, drying the *chamærops* and *passiflora*, making cold flour for travelling, gathering nuts and making their milk; likewise in making baskets, brooms, pots, bowls and other earthen and wooden vessels."[39]

562 Hawkins says tersely that the Creek men made slaves of their women who in turn exercised "absolute rule, such as it was, over their children."[40]

However, Swan is as usual the leading devil's advocate against the Creeks. He remarks:

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[35] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 31-32.

[36] Ibid., p. 31.

[37] Pope, Tour, p. 60.

[38] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 93.

[39] Ibid., p. 96.

[40] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. [illegible]

"The women perform all the labor, both in the house and field, 562
and are, in fact, but slaves to the men, being subject to their commands without any will of their own, except in the management of the children. They are universally called wenches; and the only distinction between them and the negro women is, that they have Indian children; and when a man would have you understand that he is speaking of his wife, he designates her as his son's mother, etc. Yet in this unhappy, servile state, the women are remarkable for their care and attention to the men, constantly watching over them in their desperate drunkenness and quarrels, with their utmost solicitude and anxiety. . . ."[41]

"A stranger going into the country must feel distressed, when he 181
sees naked women bringing in huge burdens of wood on their backs, 462
or bent under the scorching sun, at hard labor in the field; while the indolent, robust young men are riding about, or stretched at ease on some scaffold, amusing themselves with a pipe, or a whistle."[42]

In another place we read:

"The men, in general, are of a good size, stout, athletic and handsome: the women are of good height, but coarse, thick-necked and ugly. Being condemned, by the custom of the country, to carry burdens, pound corn, and perform all the hard labor, they are universally masculine in appearance, without one soft blandishment to render them desirable or lovely. Both sexes have a phlegmatic coldness and indifference, uncommon and unknown to most white people."[43]

This last statement Swan confirms by citing the apparent indifference exhibited by a husband and wife when they met after a long separation.

I may add that in 1911–12 I was several times told that Creek Indians would let their wives walk home from town carrying heavy loads, while they hung about for some time and finally hired a liveryman to take them, perhaps passing their wives on the way.

Nevertheless, the condemnation of the Indians by Pope, Swan, 181
and others is as unintelligent as the praises bestowed by Bartram. 562
A people or a person can be judged properly only by observing the conformity or lack of conformity which their actions bear to the ethical and social standards among them, not by the measure of ethical or social standards among other people. And secondly, the presence or absence and in general the intensity of emotions can not be assumed because their expression is less or different from that to which the critic is himself accustomed. I have already called attention to Swan's misconception regarding marriage relations owing to the difference between the significance of Indian and white terms

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[41] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273.

[42] Ibid., p. 275.

[43] Ibid., p. 274.

181 562 [593] of relationship.[44] In the quotation given above he[1] makes another blunder when he assumes that from the apparent indifference exhibited by an Indian couple when they meet after a long separation a constitutional "phlegmatic coldness and indifference" may be inferred. The self-restraint and seeming unconcern exhibited was simply a native custom from which nothing at all regarding the real feelings could be deduced. It may be added that the hard life of Indian women to which he refers was not usually considered hard by them but as the customary and essential, and it was in large measure but their share of a life which was harder all around than the lives of many civilized human beings. It was certainly not as hard as the lives of many of our sweatshop and mill operatives, and there is this to be said for it besides that it did not exist side by side with and thereby shame a theoretically lofty moral standard. On the other hand the "care and attention" which Creek women bestowed upon their men must be read in connection with the drastic regulations to which a widow was subjected.[44a] Collective virtues and vices are so closely bound up with economic conditions that it would be easy to show how both as they exist among Indians show to advantage or suffer in comparison with virtues and vices among ourselves. [177] It is probably true also that white contact by putting an end to intertribal warfare and to hunting, the chief occupations of the men in olden times, has shown up the division of labor between men and women with some disadvantage to the men, because the old traditions regarding division of labor have persisted into a period when a new arrangement is rendered necessary. This is not said with the idea of justifying Indian or European customs. Some of these were doubtless due to economic conditions which were indeed their sufficient excuse at one time. Many, too, may be perversions of customs which once had some reason for their existence though the perversions themselves have not and never had any such basis. In these cases history may furnish a palliation and an excuse but it can not give a justification, and the sooner such custom is abolished the better.

It is not just then to condemn the Creeks on account of some of their customs or to praise them overmuch on account of others. But, abstracting the customs themselves from the people, we may say that those of the Creeks were upon the whole on a distinctly higher level than the customs of most of the hunting tribes of American Indians and indeed than those of most of the agricultural tribes about them.

BURIAL

764 In the accounts of burial customs, as well as in those of marriages, there are considerable differences, and here again it is evident that

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[44] See p. 376.

[44a] See pp. 383-384.

[1] [i.e., Swan.--Analyst]

the customs themselves were diverse. As usual, I place first what Adair has to say upon the subject, his account being one of the oldest. It probably contains the best exposition of the ancient rites among the Chickasaw. In these as in so many other matters the Chickasaw were nearer to the Creeks than to the related Choctaw.

After stating that the bones of those who had died at a distance from home were gathered and brought back and that in burying they separated them carefully from the remains of other people—by which he probably means not only other tribes but other clans of the same tribe—Adair continues as follows:

"When any of them die at a distance, if the company be not driven and pursued by the enemy, they place the corpse on a scaffold, covered with notched logs to secure it from being torn by wild beasts, or fowl of prey; when they imagine the flesh is consumed, and the bones are thoroughly dried, they return to the place, bring them home, and inter them in a very solemn manner. They will not associate with us, when we are burying any of our people, who die in their land; and they are unwilling we should join with them while they are performing this kindred duty to theirs. Upon which account, though I have lived among them in the raging time of the small-pox, even of the confluent sort, I never saw but one buried, who was a great favourite of the English, and chieftain of *Ooeasa* as formerly described.

"The Indians use the same ceremonies to the bones of their dead, as if they were covered with their former skin, flesh, and ligaments. It is but a few days since I saw some return with the bones of nine of their people, who had been two months before killed by the enemy. They were tied in white deer-skins, separately; and when carried by the door of one of the houses of their family, they were laid down opposite to it, till the female relations convened, with flowing hair, and wept over them about half an hour. Then they carried them home to their friendly magazines of mortality, wept over them again, and then buried them with the usual solemnities; putting their valuable effects, and as I am informed, other convenient things in along with them, to be of service to them in the next state. The chieftain carried twelve short sticks tied together, in the form of a quadrangle; so that each square consisted of three. The sticks were only peeled, without any paintings; but there were swans feathers tied to each corner, and . . . they called that frame, *Tereekpe tobeh*,[a] 'a white circle,' and placed it over the door, while the women were weeping over the bones. . . .

"When a warrior dies a natural death (which seldom happens) the war-drums, musical instruments, and all other kinds of diversion, are laid aside for the space of three days and nights. . . . [And whether the deceased is a warrior or not] "they wash and anoint the corpse, and soon bring it out of doors for fear of pollution; then they place it opposite to the door, on the skins of wild beasts, in a sitting posture, as looking into the door of the winter house, westward, sufficiently supported with all his movable goods; after a short eulogium, and space of mourning, they carry him three times around the house in which he is to be interred, stopping half a minute each time, at the place where they began the circle, while the religious man of the deceased person's family, who goes before the hearse, says each time, *Yàh*, short with a bass voice, and then invokes in a tenor key, *Yo*, which at the same time is likewise sung by all the procession, as long as one breath allows. Again, he strikes up, on a sharp treble key, the fœminine note, *He*, which in like manner, is taken up and continued by the rest: then all of them suddenly strike off the solemn chorus, and sacred invocation, by saying in a low key, *Wàh*. . . . This is the method in which they performed the funeral rites of the chieftain before referred to; during which time, a great many of the traders were present, as our company was agreeable at the interment of our declared friend and patron. . . .

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[a] Byington gives *tilikpi* as an ancient word meaning "shield" and distinct from the word for circle. *Tohbi* is "white."

"When they celebrated these funeral rites of the above chieftain they laid the corpse in his tomb, in a sitting posture, with his face towards the east,[49] his head anointed with bear's oil, and his face painted red, but not streaked with black, because that is a constant emblem of war and death; he was drest in his finest apparel, having his gun and pouch, and trusty hiccory bow, with a young panther's skin, full of arrows, along side of him, and every other useful thing he had been possessed of,—that when he rises again, they may serve him in that tract of land which pleased him best before he went to take his long sleep. His tomb was firm and clean inside. They covered it with thick logs, so as to bear several tiers of cypress bark, and such a quantity of clay as would confine the putrid smell, and be on a level with the rest of the floor. They often sleep over those tombs; which, with the loud wailing of the women at the dusk of the evening, and dawn of the day, on benches close by the tombs, must awake the memory of their relations very often; and if they were killed by an enemy, it helps to irritate and set on such revengeful tempers to retaliate blood for blood. . . .

"These rude Americans . . . imagine if any of us were buried in the domestic tombs of their kindred, without being adopted, it would be very criminal in them to allow it; and that our spirits would haunt the eaves of the houses at night, and cause several misfortunes to their family. . . .

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[49] In later times, when the body was buried at full length, the head was consequently toward the west. This seems to have been the custom of most of the Southeastern Indians.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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"To perpetuate the memory of any remarkable warriors killed in the woods, I must here observe, that every Indian traveller as he passes that way throws a stone on the place, according as he likes or dislikes the occasion, or manner of the death of the deceased.

"In the woods we often see innumerable heaps of small stones in those places, where according to tradition some of their distinguished people were either killed, or buried, till the bones could be gathered; there they add Pelion to Ossa, still increasing each heap, as a lasting monument, and honor to them, and an incentive to great actions. . . .

"The Indians place those heaps of stones where there are no dividings of the roads, nor the least trace of any road. And they then observe no kind of religious ceremony, but raise those heaps merely to do honor to their dead, and incite the living to the pursuit of virtue. . . .

"To prevent pollution, when the sick person is past hope of recovery, they dig a grave, prepare the tomb, anoint his hair, and paint his face; and when his breath ceases, they hasten the remaining funeral preparations, and soon bury the corpse. One of a different family will never, or very rarely, pollute himself for a stranger; though when living, he would cheerfully hazard his life for his safety; the relations, who become unclean by performing the funeral duties, must live apart from the clean for several days, and be cleansed by some of their religious order, who chiefly apply the button-snakeroot for their purification, as formerly described: when they purify themselves by ablution. After three days, the funeral assistants may convene at the town-house, and follow their usual diversions. But the relations live recluse for a long time, mourning the dead. . . .

"The modern Indians bury all their movable riches, according to the custom of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, insomuch, that the grave is heir of all. . . .

"Notwithstanding . . . they never give them the least disturbance; even a blood-thirsty enemy will not despoil nor disturb the dead. The grave proves an asylum, and a sure place of rest to the sleeping person, till at some certain time, according to their opinion, he rises again to inherit his favorite place,—unless the covetous, or curious hand of some foreigner, should break through his sacred bounds."[80]

Adair cites an instance of reform, however, in the case of Malahche, chief of Coweta, and a long-standing friend of the whites, who left all of his property to his relations instead of allowing it to be buried with his corpse.[81] [428]

In another place Adair says that—"When any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [the souls of the departed]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed place, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise." [52]

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[80] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 178-181.

[81] Ibid., p. 178.

In still another place he notes that immediately after anyone had died the father or a brother of the deceased took a live firebrand, brandished it two or three times about his head with lamenting words, dipped it into the water with his right hand and let it sink down.[53]

Romans states that—

"The dead are buried in a sitting posture, and they are furnished with a musket, powder and ball, a hatchet, pipe, some tobacco, a club, a bow and arrows, a looking glass, some vermillion and other trinkets, in order to come well provided in the world of spirits." [54]

Pope says that the articles buried with the deceased included, besides inanimate objects, "horses, cows, hogs, and dogs," and he cites the case of a girl with whose corpse a favorite pig was buried.[55]

It seems improbable that large animals like horses and cows should be disposed of in such a manner, yet Hitchcock supports Pope's statement in the matter of horses and dogs.[55a]

Bartram's account perhaps applies to a period when the custom of burying things with the deceased had begun to decline. He says:

"The Muscogulgees bury their deceased in the earth. They dig a four-square deep pit under the cabin or couch which the deceased lay on, in his house, lining the grave with cypress bark, where they place the corpse in a sitting posture, as if it were alive; depositing with him his gun, tomahawk, pipe, and such other matters as he had the greatest value for in his life time. His eldest wife, or the queen dowager, has the second choice of his possessions, and the remaining effects are divided amongst his other wives and children." [56]

The Creek burial is thus described by Swan:

"When one of a family dies, the relations bury the corpse about four feet deep, in a round hole dug directly under the cabin or rock whereon he died. The corpse is placed in the hole in a sitting posture, with a blanket wrapped about it, and the legs bent under it and tied together. If a warrior, he is painted, and his pipe, ornaments, and warlike appendages are deposited with him. The grave is then covered with canes tied to a hoop round the top of the hole, and then a firm layer of clay, sufficient to support the weight of a man. The relations howl loudly and mourn publicly for four days.

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[52] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.
[53] Ibid., p. 405.
[54] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 98-99.
[55] Pope, Tour, p. 58.
[55a] See p. 388.
[56] Bartram, Travels, pp. 513-514.

If the deceased has been a man of eminent character, the family immediately remove from the house in which he is buried, and erect a new one, with a belief that where the bones of their dead are deposited, the place is always attended by 'goblins and chimeras dire.' "[57]

Elsewhere he says:

"If a man dies in the town the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage."[58]

Hitchcock's notes shed new light upon the subject:

"The custom of firing four guns, one at each corner of a grave, has for its object to send the spirit of the deceased off. This custom is still prevalent.

"At a burial everything of the nature of personal property is buried with the body of the deceased. Formerly horses were killed and buried, a dog, and the like. The clothing is still buried with the dead. The dead have no shoes or moccasins on, but are buried in stockings or barefooted. Their friends don't wish to hear them walking about. The face of the dead is painted red and black, ear bobs are put on, etc., and their friends frequently throw tokens into the grave. The dead are buried with a handkerchief in each hand. If a man dies from drunkenness, a bottle of whiskey is buried with him, as they say that, dying from liquor, he will want a dram when he awakes in the other world.

"The male and female friends of the dead, meet for four successive mornings after the burial and cry. When a chief dies his friends take the black drink eight successive mornings, and live on gruel or white sofkee made without salt. All those who are engaged in the burial of a dead body are obligated to wash their hands in the same bucket of water before they touch anything. They think that to touch a child or anything a child eats from before purification will make the child sickly. It is a common belief that only the relations of the dead must bury the dead and that if any other person, not a relative, touches a dead body that person will be the next to die. In consequence of this, when sickness prevailed to a great extent and great numbers died in 1837 and 1838 many were not buried, but their bones yet whiten upon the surface of the ground in various parts of the nation."[59]

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[57] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270. [58] Ibid., p. 265. [59] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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He does not speak of the grave as situated under the house floor in the above account but in another place he indicates that, if it were not then the custom to place it there, it had been such only a short time before.

"Mr. Chapman told me at the North Fork that there were not more than 300 remaining of Black Dirt's party of Seminoles, about 200 having died. 'There are two under that bed,' said he, pointing to the bed where I had slept the night preceding. I looked toward the bed, when he added 'and one under our feet' (just in front of the fire place). When Black Dirt first came to this country [by the Canadian in Oklahoma] from Florida in 1836 he settled on the North Fork and occupied the house we were then in and, it seems, had buried some of his family or friends under it. That was the friendly part of the Seminoles who separated from the hostiles in 1835 on the death (murder) of Charley Emathla, who was killed by the hostiles for consenting to emigrate."[60]

Following is Doctor Speck's account of the burial rites in use among the Tuskegee Creeks:

"The body, as soon as the soul, residing in the heart, has left it, is treated as follows: The male members of the family take their guns and go outside of the house and there fire them off to make known the death to the rest of the village. The friends and relatives then assemble at the house and spend some time in mourning and expressing grief. No one, however, cares to touch the corpse in fear of evil consequences. It is said that during an epidemic some time ago there was such difficulty in getting persons to dispose of the dead that the bodies lay around the village unburied until the people had to leave. Only persons who have been properly fortified by magic rituals dare handle the body.

"The corpse is then carried to the burying ground, where a grave has been dug, and lowered in. Some relative then discharges a rifle toward the four cardinal points. Slabs of elm-bark are put over the body, and as soon as the earth is thrown in they clap their hands and shout and laugh. Coffee is put in a cup over the left shoulder and clothes are laid along the side of the body. The fresh earth dug from the grave is believed to produce sickness in the form of rheumatism in the person who steps on it. A small house, either of logs or of boards, is then constructed over the grave. A fire is kindled at the head of the grave and tended for four days by the relatives until the soul is believed to have reached the passage to the sky. As soon as they reach home after the interment the members of the family put some powdered ginseng, or white root, into a cup and blow it around the house and yard to keep the spirit of the dead from returning. Formerly horses were killed at the grave in order that their spirits might carry the soul toward the spirit land.

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[60] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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"The fire, which was always burning in the house, was allowed to go out when a death occurred, so when the mortuary rites were concluded a new fire was kindled with a ceremony and song called tū′ tkamodjása ingasúpid, 'fire new its cooling.' "[a]

Jackson Lewis told me that in Alabama, where he was born, burial inside the house was usual. The grave was dug in one corner flush with the wall, for there were then no floors, and after the body had been placed within, they raised a little house over it, 2½ or 3 feet high, and covered it with split planks laid close together. They daubed the sides and top with a thick coating of clay and used the grave as a bed. But before doing so they made some medicine and sprinkled the walls, the ceiling, and in fact the entire house with it in order to counteract any evil influences that might emanate from the body. Jackson Lewis's own father, who had been killed by a white man in the old country, was cared for in this manner. After moving to Oklahoma the Creeks buried mostly away from the houses. The body was drawn up and placed in a sitting posture facing the east, because that quarter is associated with the renewal of life. The grave was lined with split planks, and a rug, or else some cloth, was laid on the bottom. The man who dug the grave and handled the body had been provided with a medicine made of four herbs—horsemint, maremint, spicewood, and everlasting—and he anointed himself with this from time to time. After they had placed the body in the grave each of those present brought a handful of earth and threw it in. Then, at the direction of the man who had charge of the ceremony, all marched down to the creek and plunged under water four times, after which they rubbed medicine on their bodies. No food was placed by the body, only certain articles of which the deceased had been very fond. A fire was lighted near by and kept burning for four days, because, as one informant explained, the ghost of a dead man stays about for that length of time. When his soul was supposed to be taking its departure from his body guns were discharged. The ceremony of throwing earth on the corpse was also related by a Cherokee Indian as a custom of his people, and it may have been introduced by the whites, although the man who gave me most of the above information was advanced in years and well up in the old customs of his people. The Cherokee Indian just mentioned was present once at the burial of a Creek woman, and he says that all sorts of things were inhumed with the body, including nice dresses and the varieties of food that she liked best. When the first earth was being put in they added some live coals. Then the body was covered over completely, and the medicine man blew into a pot of medicine in which everyone present washed his or her face and hands, sprinkling some over the clothing. The medicine man also had all of them drink a little of it. The mention of food is in disagreement with what I was told by others, and no one else seemed to know about the live coals. The doctor, however, was a Natchez, and the customs observed may have been in part Natchez customs. A little structure of logs laid lengthwise and surmounted by a shingled roof was built in later times over each grave, and made just large enough to cover it (pl. 1, *c*). A half mile south of Seminole, Okla., I saw a grave in which slabs of stone took the place of wood. Eakins says that "The ages of deceased persons or number of scalps taken by them, or war-parties which they have headed, are recorded on their grave posts by this system of strokes,"[a] meaning single strokes for units and crosses for tens. This recording of ages can have been only in very late times, if at all, as they were generally ignorant of these. During the period of mourning the relatives of the deceased painted their faces black all over. Unlike the custom in many tribes, the name of the deceased could be mentioned, but he was always referred to in the plural as "they."

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[a] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, pp. 118, 119.]

From Sonak hadjo, chief of the Mikasuki, I obtained the following information which is of particular importance because there is evidence that the Mikasuki are a branch of the Chiaha Indians and through them related to the ancient Yamasee and the Indians of the Georgia coast.

In very old times when a Mikasuki died they took his body to a forked tree and laid it in the fork face down and head to the west. They burned his property. Later they left it by his body instead. Before the Civil War, however, they changed the custom of burying. They then laid down some split logs, placed the body upon these, and arranged other split logs at the sides and over the top. Then they set up a couple of logs at each end in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, laid another log upon the crotches, and along each side placed a row of short logs, with their upper ends resting on the long log. A number of persons prepared this grave, working at night, and they laid the body in it. After they had gotten through and had returned to the house from which the body had been taken a pot of medicine was prepared, the medicine man blew into it, and they then had to drink this and vomit it up. After that they could eat. The persons who performed this service were taken from several different clans.

A fire was formerly built at the head of the grave, and it was kept up for four days. At the end of that time the fire was put out in the house where the man had died and a new one was built. Before the Civil War, if a man had a horse that he loved very much, they shot it close to his grave; they also broke his favorite gun on a tree and threw the pieces by the body. The same thing would be done to the leg-rattles of a woman, and they also burned up her property.

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[a] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

After the Civil War they began to bury in the ground, lining the grave with split logs and also covering it with them. Then, too, only about four persons did the work. While they were so employed they had their faces painted red, and this paint was called tisi'. For the space of four months after the duty had been accomplished they had to eat apart out of a separate dish. If they belonged to different houses each man had his own dish. If the burial was in winter they hoed away the grass, leaves, branches, etc., from the grave so that the grave house would not be burned. 764

Before the Civil War there was a chief of the Mikasuki named Kapitca miko (Mikasuki Kapitc miki). When he died they laid his body away, south of Wetumka, in the old manner, without digging a grave. Afterward the Negro slaves went there and piled a great quantity of stones above it. Sonak hadjo himself saw it in that place after the war. This was not a regular custom, but the Indians did it at that time because they had Negro slaves to command and because they thought a great deal of that chief. [567]

"While the Yamacraw Indians were in England with Tomochichi one of their number died and was buried by his companions in the ground, strapped between two boards."[63]

Bossu has the following regarding the burial customs of the Alabama in the middle of the eighteenth century:

"The Allibamons bury their dead in a sitting position; in order to justify this usage they say that the man is upright, and has his head turned toward the heaven his dwelling, and that it is for this reason that they bury their fellowmen in this attitude; they give him a calumet and tobacco to smoke in order that he may make peace with the people of the other world; if he is a warrior he is buried with his arms, which are a gun, powder, and balls, a quiver provided with arrows, a bow, a casse-tête, whether a wooden club or a hatchet, and moreover a mirror, and some vermilion with which to make his toilet in the world of souls.

"When a man kills himself whether from despair or in sickness, he is deprived of burial, and thrown into the river, because he is then considered a coward."[64] [762]

In another place he speaks of the mourning on account of a war chief in the following terms:

"When a great war chief of the nation dies the mourning consists in refraining from painting oneself and bathing; the men daub the whole of their bodies with soot which they dilute with bear's oil; in a word they renounce all kinds of diversions."[65]

As the southern Indian world of the dead was overhead Bossu's explanation of their reason for burying the body sitting up probably

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[63] Jones, Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 183.

[64] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 49-50.

[65] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

764 involves one real aboriginal explanation of the custom. His account of the treatment accorded the body of a suicide I have seen nowhere else.

The Alabama now living in Texas give the following account of their old burial customs:

Nowadays several persons dig a grave, but in former times a single old man performed the office. While he was at work upon it he ate by himself, for it was thought that anyone who ate with him would fall sick. He did not smoke, and, no matter how hot the sun was, he drank no water. Anciently the body was bundled tightly together, wrapped about, and placed upon a board which was then sunk into the earth, head to the east, so that when his spirit got up it would be in the right position to start on the spirit trail westward.[66] A framework of poles was afterwards put all about the grave. Afterwards the gravedigger washed his clothes, took some of the button-snake root, and vomited. Then he could eat, and the relatives of the deceased gave him a horse in payment. Those who attended to burials in later times must duck all over in the creek four times no matter how cold the weather. My informant had done this when ice was on the water and the snow flying, and he almost fainted from the cold. Blankets were put under the head of the corpse as a pillow and a butcher knife in his hand with which to fight off an eagle supposed to infest the trail of the dead. For four days the wife or husband and the children and near relatives visited the grave every morning before breakfast and every evening before supper, and at their evening visits they lighted a fire at the head. After each of these visits they went to a stream, bathed all over, and washed their clothing before they ate. For four days they must eat no food that contained salt, and during the same period they remained quiet and made no noise. Not only the family but all of the people abstained from playing ball then, though they might do some hunting.

Although the later accounts do not mention the custom of discharging a gun the moment a death took place, it appears from Gregg that it was maintained until after the Creeks had removed west.[67]

[845] Among all of the Creek tribes a miscarriage, a stillborn child, or a very young child was laid away in a hollow tree where it was nicely ceiled in. Otherwise it was thought that there would be a drought, that a pestilence would break out, or that deaths from other causes would occur.

THE DIURNAL CYCLE

512
805 Adair has the following regarding divisions of the day recognized among the Chickasaw, with which those of the Creeks were practically identical:

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[66] This means that the body was laid flat on its back. The orientation must have been different from that common among the Creeks generally.

[67] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. XX, p. 316.

"They count the day also by the three sensible differences of the 512
sun, like the Hebrews—sunrise, they term, *Hasse kootcha meente* [hàshi 821
kucha minti], 'the sun's coming out';—noon, or mid-day, *Tabookòre*
[tabokoli]; and sun-set, *Hassé Oobea* [hàshi àbia], literally, 'the sun 805
is dead'; likewise, *Hasse Ookka'tòra* [hàshi okatula], that is, 'the sun is fallen into the water'; the last word is compounded of *Ookka* [oka], water, and *Etòra* [itola], to fall; it signifies also 'to swim,' as instinct would direct those to do, who fell into the water. And they call dark, Ookklille [oklili]—derived from *Ookka* [oka], water and *Illeh* [illi], dead;[68] which shews their opinions of the sun's disappearance, according to the ancients, who said the sun slept every night in the western ocean. They subdivide the day, by any of the aforesaid three standards—as half way between the sun's coming out of the water; and in like manner, by midnight, or cock-crowing, etc."[69]

The Creeks rose early, and, as we have already described, ran to 512
the creek or the nearest water to plunge in four times before they 515
returned to the fire. Perhaps they owed to this regulation in a measure their skill as swimmers.

Adair says:

"Except the Choktah, all our Indians, both male and female, above the state of infancy, are in the watery element nearly equal to amphibious animals, by practice: and from the experiments necessity has forced them to, it seems as if few were endued with such strong natural abilities,—very few can equal them in their wild situation of life."[70]

He attributes the deficiencies of the Choctaw in this particular to an absence of deep rivers or creeks in their country and he was so much impressed by the failing that he mentions it four times and gives it as the principal cause of the greater part of the losses they had suffered in their wars with the Muskogee.[71] How much truth there may have been in this we do not know. Whatever there was could probably have been traced to something in their environment or their customs.

While in later times, at least, the ancient Creeks did not have meals 512
at regular hours as with us, they had two meals at irregular hours, 264
one between 7 and 10 in the morning, the other around 2 in the afternoon. There was always a pot of sofki ready into which anyone could dip whenever the spirit moved him, and Swan says they resorted to it about once an hour.[72] This was their only supper. Labor was performed early by both men and women, and ordinarily it was laid aside about 2 o'clock, after which a ball game might be indulged in, and in the evening a dance until late at night.

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[68] The etymology is probably altogether wrong.

[69] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76.

[70] Ibid., p. 408.

[71] Ibid., pp. 282, 291-292, 304, 424.

[72] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.

512 The following cross-section of a Seminole Indian village "in action" is given by Bartram, and is interesting in this connection:

"As I continued coasting the Indian shore [i. e., the west shore of the St. Johns River] . . . on doubling a promontory, I suddenly saw before me an Indian settlement, or village. It was a fine situation, the bank rising gradually from the water. There were eight or ten habitations, in a row or street, fronting the water, and about fifty yards distant from it. Some of the youth were naked, up to their hips in the water, fishing with rods and lines; whilst others, younger, were diverting themselves in shooting frogs with bows and arrows. On my near approach, the little children took to their heels, and ran to some women who were hoeing corn; but the stouter youth stood their ground, and, smiling, called to me. As I passed along, I observed some elderly people reclined on skins spread on the ground, under the cool shade of spreading Oaks and Palms, that were ranged in front of their houses: they arose, and eyed me as I passed, but perceiving that I kept on without stopping, they resumed their former position." [73]

The Annual Cycle

805
821 Adair says that the Indians divided the year into four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, and numbered the years by any one of them. He gives the names of these periods in the Cherokee and Chickasaw languages. The last are Otoolpha, Tóme palle, Ashtòramóona, and Ashtòra.[74] He derives Otoolpha from "oolpha, the name of a bud or to shoot out," but I am unable to identify the word in Choctaw unless it is *àlba*, "vegetation, herbs, plants, weeds," and it may be a Chickasaw term. Tóme palle signifies "bright and warm" or "warm brightness." Palle, or pàlli, is a Chickasaw word and it would seem from Byington's dictionary [75] that it was later used by itself to signify "summer." The next name would be in Choctaw *hàshtula himona* or *hàshtulàmmona*, "the beginning of winter," and the last *hàshtula*. *Hàshtula* means "winter" in Choctaw as well as Chickasaw, but autumn is *hàshtulahpi*, "beginning of winter," the significance being about the same. The Choctaw, however, use *tofa* for summer and *tofahpi* for spring.

In Creek, while the distinction of four seasons was probably made, at least at times, out of regard for the sacred number four, summer and winter were, as Swan tells us, principally used in counting the years, and the months were divided into two series which were supposed to correspond to those two seasons but in fact cut both summer and winter about in half.[76] The existence of the two series

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[73] Bartram, Travels, pp. 90-91.

[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 74.

[75] Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[76] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 276-277.

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accounts for a discrepancy between the statements of Adair and Swan, the former asserting that the year began with "the first appearance of the first new moon of the vernal equinox,"[77] while the latter placed it at the time of the busk,[78] though even then the correspondence is not perfect. Nevertheless Adair says in another place that from the period of the busk "they count their beloved, or holy things."[79] Adair's first statement was no doubt influenced by a desire to square Indian and Hebrew customs, and it is perfectly evident that from the Creek point of view the busk was the real new year. The Creek months were named as follows:

WINTER SERIES

August, Hayo łàko, "much heat" (or "big ripening" month).
September, Otowoskutci, "little chestnut" (month).
October, Otowoski łàko, "big chestnut" (month).
November, Iholi or Yihuli, indicating a change in the weather.
December, Łáfo łàko, "big winter" (month).
January, Łáfo tcusi, "little winter" (month).

SUMMER SERIES

February, Hotàli hàsi, "wind month."
March, Tasahtcutci, "little spring" (month).
April, Tasahtci łàko, "big spring" (month).
May, Ki hàsi, "mulberry month."
June, Kàtco hàsi, "blackberry month."
July, Hayutci, "little warmth" (or "little ripening") (month).

The list recorded by Swan, which is divided as above, is the oldest known. Other lists were made by Buckner and Herrod, Loughridge and Hodge, Gatschet, and the writer. My own was obtained from Jackson Lewis and agrees substantially with that given above except in the interpretation of the names for September and October. Lewis called these "little-change-of-weather month" and "big-change-of-weather month," respectively, deriving them evidently from *otuhi*, "damp," "moist," and a term *waski*, "to scatter," appearing in *ùski waski*, "drizzling rain." In the face of all of the other authorities this can hardly be accepted. Buckner and Herrod[80] invert the names given December and January, calling the former Łáfo tcusi and the latter Łáfo łàko. They stand alone in this. All authorities except Jackson Lewis interpret *Iholi*, "frost month," but, while this may be correct, the usual word for "frost" is *hituti*.

A note by Doctor Gatschet states that they attempted to restore the months to their proper positions in the annual cycle by inserting a supernumerary month every second year. No doubt some such device was resorted to, but it was probably only in later times that the correction was made with such regularity.

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[77] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76. A writer in Schoolcraft says "they compute the year from the budding of the trees." And he adds that it consisted of an indefinite number of moons. (Ind. Tribes, vol I, p. 271.)
[78] Swan, op. cit., p. 276.
[79] Adair, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
[80] Grammar of the Maskoke, or Creek Language, p. 30.

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The native names for the months in Alabama and Koasati have almost passed out of memory. The following is a nearly complete list, but there is still some doubt as to whether the terms are all accurately applied. A in parenthesis indicates the Alabama term, K the Koasati term.

August, Tá'koia waya' hase', "Wild peaches ripe moon," (A).
September, ?.
October (?), Tokobe' háse', "Frog moon" (A).
November, Oki lûtca', "Black water" (water black with leaves, etc.) (A). Bohole'x tcoba', or Boholo's kona', "Whippoorwill moon" (the former a big, the latter a small variety) (K).
December, Łá'fi tcoba', "Big winter" (K).
January, Łá'fotcose', or Łá'fi otcose' "Little winter" (K).
February, ?.
March, Mahále' hase', "Wind moon" (A and K).
April (?), Nasá'ltci hase', "Planting moon" (A and K).
May, Bá'ktco tábátle' hase', "May haws ripe" (A and K).
June, Hase' báka'pka, "Half way month" (because the sun then turns south again) (A). Hase' tátcoláfka' (K).
July, Behe' lebátka' hase', "Mulberries ripe" (A). Behe' waya' hase', "Mulberries ripe" (K).

The Alabama term for June is given on the authority of John Scott, the chief of the tribe; the others are from George Henry, a Koasati, Celissy Henry and Charlie Thompson, Alabama Indians. The last thought that there was also a "yellow leaf" month.

On comparing the Creek and Alabama lists it is seen that four of the names agree in both and two of these, the terms for December and January, agree in application also, while the application of the term Windy moon differs so slightly that it is evidently intended for the same period. The Mulberry months in these lists are, however, two months apart, and there is evidently some mistake. This may be due to a failure in the memories of my Alabama and Koasati informants, or it may have begun in aboriginal times on account of the lack of agreement between the number of lunations in successive solar years. Evidently some rough correspondence must have been brought about in ancient days by shifting the names slightly in order to make them fit the seasonal change to which they referred. Such a shift was by no means confined to the Alabama, for it appears in the lists of Choctaw months recorded by Cyrus Byington, in which the Wind month is given as June–July, Mulberry month as September–October, and Blackberry month October–November.[53] The appearance of these names in Choctaw also shows that certain of the month names were once identical throughout the South, although at the same time it is probable that there was considerable local variation.

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[53] Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn., art. Mahi.

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In the Yuchi calendar recorded by Doctor Speck five months agree with those in Swan's list, with but slight variation, both in name and in the period of the year to which they were applied. It seems rather curious that these all belonged to the summer series.[illegible] 805 821

Adair says of the Indians of his acquaintance: "They pay great regard to the first appearance of every new moon, and, on the occasion, always repeat some joyful sounds, and stretch out their hands toward her—but at such times they offer no public sacrifice."[illegible] And in another place he remarks that they "annually observed their festivals . . . at a prefixed time of a certain moon."[illegible]

House building was a social affair and was distributed between the spring and fall. Adair gives a very lively account of the operation. 221 342

"While the memory of the bleak pinching winds lasts, and they are covered with their winter-blackened skins, they turn out early in the spring, to strip clap-boards and cypress-bark, for the covering of their houses: but in proportion as the sun advances, they usually desist from their undertaking during that favourable season; saying, 'that in the time of warm weather, they generally plant in the fields, or go to war; and that building houses in the troublesome hot summer, is a needless and foolish affair, as it occasions much sweating,'—which is the most offensive thing in life to every red warrior of manly principles. On this account, if we except the women chopping firewood for daily use, it is as rare to hear the sound of an ax in their countries, as if they lived under the inhospitable torrid zone; or were nearly related to the South-American animal Pigritia, that makes two or three days journey in going up a tree, and is as long in returning. When the cold weather approaches, they return to their work, and necessity forces them then to perform what a timely precaution might have executed with much more ease. When they build, the whole town, and frequently the nearest of their tribe in neighboring towns, assist one another, well knowing that many hands make speedy work of that, which would have discouraged any of them from ever attempting by himself. In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finish, a good commodious house."[illegible]

"They first trace the dimensions of the intended fabric and every one has his task prescribed him after the exactest manner."[illegible]

There was, of course, nothing like a week among them in olden times, though Bartram assures us that the Creeks at one of the towns through which he passed remained quietly in their houses on Sunday out of respect to the white people.[illegible] The Alabama have the following 512 805

[illegible] Speck, in Anthr. Publ. Univ. Mus., Univ. Pa., vol. 1, p. 67.

[illegible] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76.

[illegible] Ibid., pp. [illegible].

[illegible] But see p. 373.

[illegible] Adair, op. cit., p. 417.

[illegible] Bartram, Travels, p. [illegible].

512 805 terms for the days of the week: ni"ta holo', "holy day," Sunday; ni"ta ho'lin ni"ta, "day after holy day," Monday; ni"ta ato'kla, "second day," Tuesday; ni"ta tutcī'na, "third day," Wednesday; ni"ta ostā'ga, "fourth day," Thursday; ātā'lapi, "fifth day," Friday; ni"ta holosī, "little holy day," Saturday. Christmas is ni"ta holo' tco'ba', "big holy day," in Koasati, and Kilismo', "Christmas," in Alabama.

221 After the busk men and women alike devoted the rest of the summer largely to the cultivation and harvesting of their crops. In the fall took place the Skunk Dance. After that the hunting began, and the men were away from town much of the time, but, when there was plenty of food or the game was near town, ball contests in which hunting played a part took place, accompanied with feasting and dancing, and these lasted until very cold weather.

574 The following account of these feasts and sports was given me by one of the Texas Alabama and is typical:

> Sometimes a woman would make a ball and give it to one of the men who in turn must kill a deer for her. This the women cut up and prepared for all of the people in the village and they assembled at the ball ground to eat it. Then they feasted, played ball, and frequently danced in the evening. Sometimes several balls would be made at the same time and given out by as many women. After the ball or balls were used up another woman made one for another man and the games and feasts were thus continued at the pleasure of the tribe. Sometimes, when a woman gave a ball to a man in this way, she would say she wanted bear meat. Then they would play ball for a while, after which the man would go out with three or four others and kill a bear. They gave this to the woman, who distributed the meat as before. While the men were away the women were out after kanta roots[80] and they prepared a quantity of kanta bread. Kanta was always eaten with bear meat and corn bread (and potatoes) with deer meat. When the kanta was used up the men went for bear once more and the women went to the store and bought wheat flour. These celebrations lasted for some time.
>
> Sometimes, when a woman gave out a ball in this way, she would say she wanted squirrels and the men would kill enough of them for the village, bring them to her and let her distribute them, when the same festivities were repeated. Again she might say she wanted coffee, and the man whom she addressed would go and buy enough for the village. It was brought to the ball ground and prepared there. This giving was often repeated many times.[81]

221 Often, however, the families were separated all winter, those who were related camping together. In the old country, at least, all but

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[80] The word kanta was applied to several species of smilax.

[81] See also pp. [illegible], [illegible]. Charlie Thompson, my informant, and another Indian now long dead first began to have dinners after the white man's style, and now they are all of that character.

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the old people usually remained in the camps during that time. 221
Bossu says:

"The savages usually set out on the hunt at the end of October. [224] The Allibamons go to a distance of 60, 80, and even 100 leagues from their village, and they carry along with them in their pirogues their entire family; they return only in March which is the season for sowing their fields. They bring back many skins and much smoked meat. When they have returned to their villages, they feast their friends, and make presents to the old people who have been unable to follow them, and who have protected the cabins of the village during this hunting period."[92]

War parties were usually started as soon as the weather began to warm up a little. The labor of planting was, as we shall see, interspersed with ball playing and dancing. Right afterwards the [241] men went out again on a hunt. According to one of my informants they thought if they did not do this the crows would eat the corn and the weevil would get into the beans. Then their summer duties began once more, taking care of the harvest occupying first place. War, ball games, riding, horse racing, and dancing also consumed a great deal of the time. Women naturally made their pots and most of their baskets during this period of the year.

WAR

Out of consideration for standard classifications of customs I retain 721 the name "war" for this section, but it might rather be called "institutional killing," if not "institutional murder." For while the occasions of war were various and "retaliation" for past offenses by the hostile tribe and the necessity of placating the souls of the slain were always the professed objects, the truth of the matter was that war among the southern Indians was a social institution and warlike exploits necessary means of social advancement.[93] This being the case it is easy to see that the score between most tribes was certain never to be evened permanently and that only a social revolution could abolish the custom in spite of the alliances by which certain single units agreed to settle their differences on other grounds. Ambition for scalps was carried so far, Adair assures us, that "sometimes a small party of warriors, on failing of success in their campaign, have been detected in murdering some of their own people, for the sake of their scalps."[94] This result of economic or rather social determinism reminds us of that canny Scotch captain caught in the Baltic Sea in the act of supplying Russia with the sinews of war when his own

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[92] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. [illegible].

[93] Bossu gives the [illegible] of women as one of the most important causes of war. If this happened to the wife of a chief he says that the entire nation was obliged to avenge the insult.—Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. [illegible]. I confess to have read few accounts of wars started in this manner.

[94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. [illegible].

721 country was engaged in fighting her, and of more recent dealings of the same kind. It shows also how the customs of a people react inevitably upon themselves for good or for evil.

642 721 In the case of the confederacies above mentioned the very abolition of war between certain units increased the power of the aggregate body and at the same time their temptation to use this advantage in the exploitation of their less well-organized neighbors. And in the Creek confederacy, for instance, while its very existence depended on the fact that certain tribes had agreed to live without fighting, social advancement and the whole structure of the state was dependent on war to such a degree that a complete account of the institution involves an almost complete account of the Creek social system. This having already been given, we are now in a position to take up more particularly the method of waging war.

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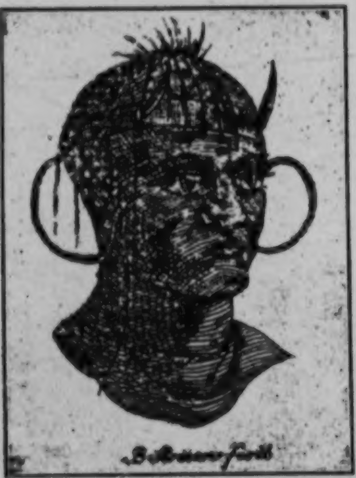

FIG. 103.—Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans)

726 The Creek warrior fought almost naked. He wore, of course, the breechclout and belt, also a pair of moccasins. His face and the upper part of his body were painted red and black. He carried a pack in which were an old blanket, some parched ground corn, cords, and leather with which to repair his moccasins. His weapons consisted [411] in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt. Adair mentions a javelin which would be a short spear or throwing knife.[85] In later times the bow and arrow gave place to the gun, though the former were used along with the latter as late as Adair's time. The war club (átasa) was, however, the principal symbol of the institution. Stiggins describes it as "shaped like a small gun about 2 feet long, and at the curve near where the lock would be is a thin square piece of iron or steel with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about 2 inches."[86] It is remembered at the present day as an implement like a combined hatchet and knife, which could either be retained in the hand or thrown. One form of headdress of a Creek warrior is shown in the accompanying illustration, taken from the work of Romans (fig. 103).

721 Intertribal warfare among the southern Indians was suppressed so long ago that not much is remembered regarding it. In this

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[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 388.

[86] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 25.

particular the earlier writers were at a better advantage even than in other matters connected with the customs of the aborigines. Perhaps no account of native Indian warfare ever published excels that given by James Adair. We have frequently had to remark on the excellence of his information and have often quoted him, but in this place he surpasses himself. 721

War expeditions were undertaken as early in spring as possible and lasted through the summer. Adair remarks "in our Indian-trading way, we say that, when the heat of the new year enables the snakes to crawl out of their lurking holes, the savages are equally moved to turn out to do mischief."[97] He gives the following account of the disturbances leading up to wars and the method of raising and conducting a war party: 726

"Should any of the young warriors through forwardness, or passion, violate the treaty of peace, the aggressing party usually send by some neutral Indians, a friendly embassy to the other, praying them to accept of equal retribution, and to continue their friendship, assuring them that the rash unfriendly action did not meet with the approbation, but was highly condemned by the head-men of the whole nation.[98] If the proposal be accepted the damage is made up, either by sacrificing one of the aggressors, of a weak family, or by the death of some unfortunate captive, who had been ingrafted in a wasted tribe. If a person of note was killed, the offended party take immediate satisfaction of their own accord, and send back the like embassy, acquainting them, that as crying blood is quenched with equal blood, and their beloved relation's spirit is allowed to go to rest, they are fond of continuing the friend-knot, and keeping the chain of friendship clear of rust, according to the old beloved speech: but, if they are determined for war, they say *Mattle*, *Mattle*, 'it is finished, they are weighed, and found light.'[98a] In that case, they proceed in the following manner.

"A war captain announces his intention of going to invade the common enemy, which he, by consent of the whole nation, declares to be such: he then beats a drum three times round his winter house, with the bloody colours flying, marked with large strokes of black,—the grand war signal of blood and death. On this, a sufficient number of warriors and others, commonly of the family of the murdered person, immediately arm themselves, and each gets a small bag of parched corn-flour, for his war stores. They then go to the aforesaid winter house, and there drink a warm decoction of their supposed 726 796

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[97] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 247.

[98] Says Bossu: "When there is among them a roisterer or disturber of the public peace, the old people speak to him thus: 'You can go, but remember, that if you are killed, you will be disavowed by the nation, that we will not weep for you at all, and that we will not exact vengeance for your death.' Such a disorderly life is branded among these people, as everywhere else, with the last degree of contempt."—Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 50-51.

[98a] Chickasaw ma, "that"; áli "it is ended."

726 [796] holy consecrated herbs and roots for three days and nights, sometimes without any other refreshment. This is to induce the deity to guard and prosper them, amidst their impending dangers. In the most promising appearance of things, they are not to take the least nourishment of food, nor so much as to sit down, during that time of sanctifying themselves, till after sunset. While on their expedition, [785] they are not allowed to lean themselves against a tree, though they may be exceedingly fatigued, after a sharp day's march; nor must they lie by, a whole day to refresh themselves, or kill and barbecue deer and bear for their war journey. The more virtuous they are, they reckon the greater will be their success against the enemy, by the bountiful smiles of the deity. To gain that favorite point, some of the aged warriors narrowly watch the young men who are newly initiated, lest they should prove irreligious, and prophane the holy fast, and bring misfortunes on the outstanding camp. A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youthful days observed one of their religious fasts; but under the greatest suspicion of his virtue in this respect, though he had often headed them against the common enemy: during their three days purification, he was not allowed to go out of the sanctified ground, without a trusty guard, lest hunger should have tempted him to violate their old martial law, and by that means have raised the burning wrath of the holy fire against the whole camp. Other particulars of this sacred process for war, have been related in their proper place.

"When they have finished their fast and purifications, they set off, at the fixed time, be it fair or foul, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, as they march.[99] The war-leader goes first, carrying the supposed holy ark: he soon strikes up the awful and solemn song before mentioned, which they never sing except on that occasion. The rest follow, in one line, at the distance of three or four steps from each other, now and then sounding the war whoo-whoop, to make the leader's song the more striking to the people. In this manner they proceed, till quite out of the sight, and hearing of their friends. As soon as they enter the woods, all are silent; and, every day they observe a profound silence in their march, that their ears may be quick to inform them of danger: their small black eyes are almost as sharp also as those of the eagle, or the lynx; and with their feet they resemble the wild cat, or the cunning panther, crawling up to its prey. Thus they proceed, while things promise them good success; but, if their dreams portend any ill, they always obey the supposed divine intimation and return home, without incurring the least censure. They reckon that their readiness to serve their country,

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[99] "To this day, a war-leader, who, by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always sanctifies himself, and his outstanding company, at the end of the old moon, so as to go off at the appearance of the new one by daylight; whereas, he who has not sufficiently distinguished himself must set out in the night."—Adair, pp. 99-100.

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should not be subservient to their own knowledge or wishes, but always regulated by the divine impulse. I have known a whole company who set out for war, to return in small parties, and sometimes by single persons, and be applauded by the united voice of the people; because they acted in obedience to their *Nana Ishtohoollo*,[illegible] 'or guardian angels,' who impressed them in the visions of night, with the friendly caution.[1] As their dreams are reckoned ominous, so there is a small uncommon bird, called the 'kind ill messenger,' which they always deem to be a true oracle of bad news. If it sings near to them, they are much intimidated: but, if it perches, and sings over the war camp, they speedily break up. . . .

"Every war captain chuses a noted warrior, to attend on him and the company. He is called Etissû, or 'the waiter.' Every thing they eat or drink during their journey, he gives them out of his hand, by a rigid abstemious rule—though each carries on his back all his travelling conveniencies, wrapt in a deer skin, yet they are so bigoted to their religious customs in war, that none, though prompted by sharp hunger or burning thirst, dares relieve himself. They are contented with such trifling allowance as the religious waiter distributes to them, even with a scanty hand. Such a regimen would be too mortifying to any of the white people, let their opinion of its violation be ever so dangerous.

"When I roved the woods in a war party with the Indians, though I carried no scrip, nor bottle, nor staff, I kept a large hollow cane well corked at each end, and used to sheer off now and then to drink, while they suffered greatly by thirst. The constancy of the savages in mortifying their bodies, to gain the divine favour, is astonishing, from the very time they beat to arms, till they return from their campaign. All the while they are out, they are prohibited by ancient custom, the leaning against a tree, either sitting or standing: nor are they allowed to sit in the day-time, under the shade of trees, if it can be avoided; nor on the ground, during the whole journey, but on such rocks, stones, or fallen wood, as their ark of war rests upon. By the attention they invariably pay to those severe rules of living, they weaken themselves much more than by the unavoidable fatigues of war: but, it is fruitless to endeavor to dissuade them from those things which they have by tradition, as the appointed means to move the deity, to grant them success against the enemy, and a safe return home."[2]

[illegible] Lit. "Holy great ones."

[1] In another place (p. 318) Adair refers to this again and cites an instance in the war between the Creeks and Choctaw. Stiggins says that nearly a thousand Creek warriors were upon one occasion routed by 17 Chickasaw, thanks to an unaccountable panic with which the former were seized.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 379-382.

726 796 In an earlier part of his work Adair gives another account of the organization of the war party and adds a considerable description of the sacred ark:

"When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times around his dark winter-house, contrary to the course of the sun, sounding the war-whoop, singing the war-song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinsmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the base contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts: he assures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men; that the love of order, and the necessity of complying with the old religious customs of their country, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now, those hinderances are removed: he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him, and sanctify themselves for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient religious law.

[783] "By this eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirst of revenge, and intense love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend, and which they constantly instil into the minds of their youth—a number soon join him in his winter-house, where they live separate from all others, and purify themselves for the space of three days and nights, exclusive of the first broken day. In each of those days they observe a strict fast till sun-set, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, lest unusual hunger should tempt them to violate it, to the supposed danger of all their lives in war, by destroying the power of their purifying beloved physic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying physic, is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-snake-root, which as hath been before observed, they apply only to religious purposes. Sometimes after bathing they drink a decoction made of the said root—and in like manner the leader applies aspersions, or sprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are such strict observers of the law of purification, and think it so essential in obtaining health and success in war, as not to allow the best beloved trader that ever lived among them, even to enter the beloved ground, appropriated to

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the religious duty of being sanctified for war;[3] much less to associate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen) on the same war design;—they oblige him to walk and encamp separate by himself, as an impure dangerous animal, till the leader hath purified him, according to their usual time and method, with the consecrated things of the ark. . . . 726 796

"The Indian ark is of a very simple construction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood securely fastened together in the form of a square. The middle of three of the sides extend a little out, but one side is flat, for the conveniency of the person's back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably close with hiccory-splinters; it is about half the dimensions of the divine Jewish ark, [just stated to have been three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height] and may very properly be called the red Hebrew ark of the purifier, imitated. The leader, and a beloved waiter, carry it by turns. It contains several consecrated vessels, made by beloved superannuated women, and of such various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given significant names to each. The leader and his attendant, are purified longer than the rest of the company, that the first may be fit to act in the religious office of a priest of war, and the other to carry the awful sacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *Hetissu*, or 'beloved waiter,' feeds each of the warriors by an exact stated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, lest by intemperance they should spoil the supposed communicative power of their holy things, and occasion fatal disasters to the war camp."[4] 726 778

In another place Adair says:

. . . "It is also highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor sit on the bare earth while they are carrying it against the enemy. On hilly ground where stones are plenty, they place it on them: but in level land upon short logs, always resting themselves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often saw the woods full of such religious war-reliques. . . . *Opae* [Hopaii], 'the leader,' obliges all during the first campaign they make with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they lie by, from sun-rise to sun-set—and after a fatiguing day's march, and scanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-snake-root very plentifully, in

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[3] In another place Adair says: "But a few weeks since, when a large company of these warlike savages were on the point of setting off to commence war against the Muskohge, some of the wags decoyed a heedless trader into their holy ground, and they stript him, so as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And on account of the like trespass, they detained two Indian children two nights and a day, till their [illegible] parents paid the like ransom." (pp. 161–162.)

[4] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 160–161.

726 778 order to be purified—that they have also as strong a faith of the power and holiness of their ark, as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole. . . .

"The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own sanctified warriors, or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemey touch it in the woods for the very same reason. . . .

727 "The leader virtually acts the part of a priest of war, *pro tempore*, . . . If they obtain the victory, and get some of the enemeies scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct of some of the followers of the beloved ark. . . .

726 834 "The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. . . . The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains."[5]

This law of sexual abstinence accounts for the comparative respect with which female captives were treated by most of the eastern Indians.[6]

726 Adair cites the case of an Indian iconoclast who went to war without the accompaniment of an ark, to the great anxiety of his friends. He has the following to say regarding the numbers taking part in an expedition and their method of conducting it after they had left home:

"It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various, and uncertain: sometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. . . .

"The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, lest their tracks should be discovered by being too numerous: but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuses to out-number a common company, that they may strike the blow with greater safety and success, as their art of war is chiefly killing by surprise; confident that in case of a disappointment, their light heels will ensure their return to their own country. When a small company go to war, they always chuse to have a swamp along side of them, with a thick covert for their shelter, because a superior number will scarcely pursue them where they might reasonably expect to lose any of their warriors. When they arrive at the enemies hunting ground, they act with the greatest caution and policy. They separate themselves, as far as each can hear the other's travelling signal, which is the mimicking such birds and beasts as frequent the spot. And they can exactly imitate the voice and sound of every quadruped and wild fowl through the American woods. In this way of travelling, they usually keep an hundred yards apart on the course agreed upon at camp. When the leader thinks it the surest way of succeeding against the enemy, he sends a few of the best runners to form an ambuscade near their towns: there, they sometimes fix the broad hoofs of buffalos, and bear's paws upon their feet, to delude the enemy: and they will for miles together, make all the windings of these beasts with the greatest art. But, as both parties are extremely wary and sagacious, I have known such arts to prove fatal to the deluders. At other times, a numerous company will walk in three different rows by way of a decoy, every one lifting his feet so high, as not to beat down the grass or herbage; and each row will make only one man's track, by taking the steps of him who went before, and a gigantic fellow takes the rear of each rank, and thereby smooths the tracks with his feet. When they are convinced the enemy is in pursuit of them, at so considerable a distance from the country, as for themselves not to be over-powered by numbers, they post themselves in the most convenient place, in the form of an half-moon, and patiently wait a whole day and night, till the enemy runs into it; and in such a case, the victory at one broadside is usually gained.

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[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 161-164.

[6] Cf. Ibid., p. 164.

"When they discover the tracks of enemies in their hunting ground, or in the remote woods, it is surprising to see the caution and art they use, both to secure themselves, and take advantage of the enemy. If a small company be out at war, they in the day time crawl through thickets and swamps in the manner of wolves—now and then they climb trees, and run to the top of hills, to discover the smoke of fire, or hear the report of guns: and when they cross through the open woods, one of them stands behind a tree, till the rest advance about a hundred yards, looking out sharply on all quarters. In this manner, they will proceed, and on tiptoe, peeping everywhere around; they love to walk on trees which have been blown down, and take an oblique course, till they inswamp themselves again, in order to conceal their tracks, and avoid a pursuit. . . .

726 "When the invaders extend themselves across the woods, in quest of their prey, if they make a plain discovery, either of fresh tracks, or of the enemy, they immediately pass the war-signal to each other, and draw their wings toward the centre. If the former, they give chace, and commonly by their wild-cat-method of crawling, they surround, and surprise the pursued, if unguarded—however, I have known them to fail in such attempts; for the Indians generally are so extremely cautious, that if three of them are in the woods, their first object is a proper place for defence, and they always sit down in a triangle, to prevent a surprise. When enemies discover one another, and find they can take no advantage, they make themselves known to each other; and by way of insulting bravado, they speak aloud all the barbarities they ever committed against them; that they are now, to vindicate those actions, and make the wound for ever incurable; that they are their most bitter enemies, and equally contemn their friendship and enmity. In the mean while, they throw down their packs, strip themselves naked, and paint their faces and breasts red as blood, intermingled with black streaks. Every one at the signal of the shrill-sounding war-cry, instantly covers himself behind a tree, or in some cavity of the ground where it admits of the best safety. The leader, on each side, immediately blows the small whistle ~~he carries~~ for the occasion, in imitation of the ancient trumpet, as the last signal of engagement. Now hot work begins—The guns are firing; the chewed bullets flying; the strong hiccory bows a twanging; the dangerous barbed arrows whizzing as they fly; the sure-shafted javelin striking death wherever it reaches; and the well-aimed tomohawk killing, or disabling its enemy. Nothing scarcely can be heard for the shrill echoing noise of the war and death-whoop, every one furiously pursues his adversary from tree to tree, striving to incircle him for his prey; and the greedy jaws of pale death are open on all sides, to swallow them up. One dying foe is intangled in the hateful and faltering arms of another: and each party desperately attempts both to save their dead and wounded from being scalped, and to gain the scalps of their opponents. On this the battle commences anew—But rash attempts fail, as their wary spirits always forbid them from entering into a general close engagement. Now they retreat: then they draw up into various figures, still having their dead and wounded under their eye. Now they are flat on the ground loading their pieces—then they are up firing behind trees, and immediately spring off in an oblique course to recruit—and thus they act till winged victory declares itself.

727 "The vanquished party makes for a swampy thicket, as their only asylum; but should any of them be either unarmed, or slightly

wounded, the speedy pursuers captivate them, and usually reserve them for a worse death than that of the bullet. On returning to the place of battle, the victors begin, with mad rapture, to cut and slash those unfortunate persons, who fell by their arms and power; and they dismember them, after a most inhuman manner. If the battle be gained near home, one hero cuts off and carries this member of the dead person, another that, as joyful trophies of a decisive victory. If a stranger saw them thus loaded with human flesh, without proper information, he might conclude them to be voracious cannibals. . . . Their first aim however is to take off the scalp, when they perceive the enemy hath a proper situation, and strength to make a dangerous resistance. Each of them is so emulous of exceeding another in this point of honour, that it frequently stops them in their pursuit.

"This honourable service is thus performed [7]—They seize the head of the disabled, or dead person, and placing one of their feet on the neck, they with one hand twisted in the hair, extend it as far as they can—with the other hand, the barbarous artists speedily draw their long sharp-pointed scalping knife out of a sheath from their breast, give a slash round the top of the skull, and with a few dextrous scoops. soon strip it off. They are so expeditious as to take off a scalp in two minutes. When they have performed this part of their martial virtue, as soon as time permits, they tie with bark or deer's sinews, their speaking trophies of blood in a small hoop, to preserve it from putrefaction, and paint the interior part of the scalp, and the hoop, all around with red, their flourishing emblematical colour of blood."[8]

"When they have succeeded in killing the enemy, they tie firebrands in the most frequented places, with grape vines which hang pretty low, in order that they may readily be seen by the enemy. As they reckon the aggressors have loudly declared war, it would be madness or treachery in their opinion to use such public formalities before they have revenged crying blood; it would inform the enemy of their design of retaliating, and destroy the honest intention of war. They likewise strip the bark off several large trees in conspicuous places, and paint them with red and black hieroglyphics, thereby threatening the enemy with more blood and death."[9]

"They are now satisfied for the present, and return home. Tradition, or the native divine impression on human nature, dictates to them that man was not born in a state of war; and as they reckon they are become impure by shedding human blood, they hasten to observe the fast of three days, as formerly mentioned, and be sanctified by the war-chieftain, as a priest of war, according to law. While they are thus impure, though they had a fair opportunity of annoying the common enemy again, yet on this account they commonly decline it, and are applauded for their religious conduct, by all their countrymen. Indeed, formerly, when the whole combined power of the French, and their Indians, was bent against the warlike Chikkasah, I have known the last sometimes to hazard their martial virtue and success, and to fight three or four companies of French Indians, before they returned home; but the leaders excused themselves, by the necessity of self-defence. They have no such phrase as the 'fortune of war.' They reckon the leader's impurity to be chief occasion of bad success; and if he lose several of his warriors by the enemy, his life is either in danger for the supposed fault, or he is degraded, by taking from him his drum, war-whistle, and martial titles, and debasing him to his boy's name, from which he is to rise by a fresh gradation. This penal law contributes, in a good measure, to make them so exceedingly cautious and averse to bold attempts in war, and they are usually satisfied with two or three scalps and a prisoner." [19]

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[7] Speck's Taskigi informant said that this act "was accompanied with a whoop terminating in several tremulous throat tones in imitation of a turkey's gobble. This was to announce success to the band." (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.)

[8] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. [illegible]. A single scalp was often cut up and distributed among the warriors. Adair mentions a case in which a scalp of a Koasati had been taken by some Choctaw and the warriors of the separate towns divided it and carried the parts to their respective homes. (Adair, p. [illegible].)

[9] Adair, op. cit., p. 142.

The following account of the torture inflicted upon prisoners is given by the same author:

"It has been long too feelingly known, that instead of observing the generous and hospitable part of the laws of war, and saving the unfortunate who fall into their power, that they generally devote their captives to death, with the most agonizing tortures. No representation can possibly be given, so shocking to humanity, as their unmerciful method of tormenting their devoted prisoner; and as it is so contrary to the standard of the rest of the known world, I shall relate the circumstances, so far as to convey proper information thereof to the reader. When the company return from war, and come in view of their own town, they follow the leader one by one, in a direct line, each a few yards behind the other, to magnify their triumph. If they have not succeeded, or any of their warriors are lost, they return quite silent; but if they are all safe, and have succeeded, they fire off the Indian platoon, by one, two, and three at a time, whooping and insulting their prisoners. They camp near their town all night, in a large square plot of ground, marked for the purpose, with a high war-pole fixed in the middle of it, to which they secure their prisoners. Next day they go to the leader's house in a very solemn procession, but stay without, round his red-painted war-pole, till they have determined concerning the fate of their prisoners. If any one of the captives should be fortunate enough to get loose,

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[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. [illegible].

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and run into the house of the archi-magus, or to a town of refuge, he by ancient custom, is saved from the fiery torture—these places being a sure asylum to them if they were invaded, and taken, but not to invaders, because they came to shed blood.

"Those captives who are pretty far advanced in life, as well as in war-gradations, always atone for the blood they spilt, by the tortures of fire. They readily know the latter, by the blue marks over their breasts and arms; they being as legible as our alphabetical characters are to us. Their ink is made of the soot of pitch-pine, which sticks to the inside of a greased earthen pot; then delineating the parts, like the ancient Picts of Britain, with their wild hieroglyphics, they break through the skin with gair-fish-teeth, and rub over them that dark composition, to register them among the brave; and the impression is lasting. I have been told by the Chikkasah, that they formerly erazed any false marks their warriors proudly and privately gave themselves—in order to engage them to give real proofs of their martial virtue, being surrounded by the French and their red allies; and that they degraded them in a public manner, by stretching the marked parts, and rubbing them with the juice of green corn, which in a great degree took out the impression.

"The young prisoners are saved, if not devoted while the company were sanctifying themselves for their expedition; but if the latter be the case, they are condemned, and tied to the dreadful stake, one at a time. The victors first strip their miserable captives quite naked, and put on their feet a pair of bear-skin maccaseenes, with the black hairy part outwards; others fasten with a grape-vine, a burning fire brand to the pole, a little above the reach of their heads. Then they know their doom—deep black, and burning fire, are fixed seals of their death-warrant. Their punishment is always left to the women; and on account of their false standard of education, they are no way backward in their office, but perform it to the entire satisfaction of the greedy eyes of the spectators. Each of them prepares for the dreadful rejoicing, a long bundle of dry canes, or the heart of fat pitch-pine, and as the victims are led to the stake, the women and their young ones beat them with these in a most barbarous manner. Happy would it be for the miserable creatures, if their sufferings ended here, or a merciful tomahawk finished them at one stroke; but this shameful treatment is a prelude to future sufferings.

"The death-signal being given, preparations are made for acting a more tragical part. The victims arms are fast pinioned, and a strong grape-vine is tied round his neck, to the top of the war-pole, allowing him to track around, about fifteen yards. They fix some tough clay on his head, to secure the scalp from the blazing torches. Unspeakable pleasure now fills the exulting crowd of spectators, and the circle fills with the Amazon and merciless executioners—The suffering warrior however is not dismayed; with an insulting manly voice he sings the war-song! and with gallant contempt he tramples the rattling gourd with pebbles in it to pieces, and outbraves even death itself. The women make a furious on-set with their burning torches: his pain is soon so excruciating, that he rushes out from the pole, with the fury of the most savage beast of prey, and with the vine sweeps down all before him, kicking, biting, and trampling them, with the greatest despite. The circle immediately fills again, either with the same, or fresh persons: they attack him on every side—now he runs to the pole for shelter, but the flames pursue him. Then with champing teeth, and sparkling eye-balls, he breaks through their contracted circle afresh, and acts every part, that the highest courage, most raging fury, and blackest despair can prompt him to. But he is sure to be over-power'd by numbers, and after some time the fire affects his tender parts.—Then they pour over him a quantity of cold water, and allow him a proper time of respite, till his spirits recover, and he is capable of suffering new tortures. Then the like cruelties are repeated till he falls down, and happily becomes insensible of pain. Now they scalp him, in the manner before described: dismember, and carry off all the exterior branches of the body, (pudendis non exceptis) in shameful, and savage triumph. This is the most favourable treatment their devoted captives receive: it would be too shocking to humanity either to give, or peruse, every particular of their conduct in such doleful tragedies. . . .

"Not a soul, of whatever age or sex, manifests the least pity during the prisoner's tortures: the women sing with religious joy, all the while they are torturing the devoted victim, and peals of laughter resound through the crowded theatre—especially if he fears to die. But a warrior puts on a bold austere countenance, and carries it through all his pains:—as long as he can, he whoops and out-braves the enemy, describing his own martial deeds against them, and those of his nation, who he threatens will force many of them to eat fire in revenge of his fate, as he himself had often done to some of their relations at their cost.

"Though the same things operate alike upon the organs of the human body, and produce an uniformity of sensations; yet weakness, or constancy of mind derived from habit, helps in a great measure, either to heighten, or lessen the sense of pain. By this, the afflicted party has learned to stifle nature, and shew an outward unconcern, under such slow and acute tortures: and the surprising cruelty of their women, is equally owing to education and custom. . . ."[11]

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[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. [illegible]-391. Romans seems to think that the Creeks were the most cruel of all southern Indians. He says: "As hospitable as this nation is to friends, as irreconcilably inhuman are they to their enemies; there is hardly an instance of one miserable prisoner's ever having escaped their barbarity; the torments they put the wretched victims to, are too horrid to relate, and the account thereof can only serve to make human nature shudder." (Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 9.)

Next comes the disposition of the scalps, rejoicing over their victory, and the conferring of new war titles: 727

"When the Indians have finished their captive tragedies, they return to the neighboring town in triumph, with the wild shrieking oise of destroying demons: there, they cut the scalps into several pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houses of their deceased relations—whose deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they esteem not revenged till then, and thus their ghosts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of rest, till, after a certain time, they return again to live for ever in that tract of land which pleased them best, when in their former state.[11a] They perform this supposed religious duty with great solemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with soft voices, their grateful song of triumph to *Yo He Wah;* while the favoured warriors echo their praises of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine presence, for their victory; and the happiness of sending the spirits of their killed relations from the eaves of their houses which they haunted, mourning with such painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo*, like the suffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they represent all the wild-cat movements they made in crawling to surprise the enemy, and their wolfish conduct in killing with safety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by surprise. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down slowly on tip-toe in a bent posture, looking sharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the supposed enemy be either defeated by stratagem, or open battle. Then they strut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have rushed on with his eyes shut, improvident of danger; but having wisely considered that his bare breast was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himself from tree to tree, and by his skilful conduct vanquished the hateful enemy, without exposing his own valuable life to danger. All people praise, or blame another's conduct, in proportion to the parity or disparity it bears to their own standard, and notion of virtue.

"In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound or easy, under an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wished for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody 727 703 796

[11a] See succeeding article, p. 511.

727 colours are displayed, and most of the young people are dancing and
703 rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return
and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant war-
796 rior on that joyful day wears deer-skin maccaseenes, painted red, his body is anointed with bear's oil, a young softened otter-skin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine swan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with the various streaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a standing posture, they alternately deliver a long oration, with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors, who died nobly in defence of their country. At the conclusion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the scepter, or wand. He then gladly answers, and runs whooping to, and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head, and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner, they proceed with the rest of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this strong caution, 'Remember what you are (such a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved speech.' This is equal to the bold virtuous lessons of the honest Romans, and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of the honourable station, that they should always aspire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itself. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a swan, at the lower end, where it surrounds his temples, and it is curiously weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it sit easy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the skilful artist warps close together, a ringlet of the longest feathers of the swan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform position, he, in the exactest manner, ties them together with deer's sinews, so as the bandage will not appear to the sharpest eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top, and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they use in constituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which causes them to be three or four inches higher than the former." [12]

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[12] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 307-[illegible].]

There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,[13] but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son. 727 703 562

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English."[14] 727 648

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection: 727 796

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opae*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop*. When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable Yo, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred[15] notes, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

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[13] For one such see Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42.

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 310.

[15] Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these meaningless syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

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"The leader's *Hetissu*, or 'waiter,' placed a couple of new blocks of wood near the war pole, opposite to the door of the circular hot-house, in the middle of which the fire-place stood; and on these blocks he rested the supposed sacred ark, so that it and the holy fire faced each other. The party were silent a considerable time. At length, the chieftain bade them sit down, and then enquired whether his house was prepared for the solemn occasion, according to his order the day before; being answered in the affirmative, they soon rose up, sounded the death whoop, and walked round the war pole; during which they invoked and sung three times, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, in the manner already described. Then they went with their holy things in regular order into the hot-house, where they continued, exclusive of the first broken day, three days and nights apart from the rest of the people, purifying themselves with warm lotions, and aspersions of the emblematical button-snake-root, without any other subsistence between the rising and the setting of the sun.

"During the other part of the time, the female relations of each of the company, after having bathed, anointed, and drest themselves in their finest, stood in two rows, one on each side of the door, facing each other, from the evening till the morning, singing Ha Ha, Ha He, with a soft shrill voice and a solemn moving air for more than a minute, and then paused about ten minutes, before they renewed their triumphal song. While they sung, they gave their legs a small motion, by the strong working of their muscles, without seeming to bend their joints. When they had no occasion to retire, they have stood erect in the same place, a long frosty night; and except when singing, observed a most profound silence the whole time. During that period, they have no intercourse with their husbands; and they avoid several other supposed pollutions, as not to eat or touch salt, and the like.

"The leader, once in two or three hours came out at the head of his company, and raising the death whoop, made one circle round the red painted war pole, holding up in their right hands the small boughs of pine with the scalps fixed to them, singing as above, waving them to and fro, and then returned again. This religious order they strictly observed the whole time they were purifying themselves, and singing the song of safety, and victory, to the goodness and power of the divine essence. When the time of their purification and thanksgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themselves, returned in the same manner, and anointed again, according to their usual custom.

"They joined soon after in a solemn procession, to fix the scalps on the tops of the houses of their relations who had been killed without revenge of blood. The war chieftain went first—his religious attendant followed him; the warriors next, according to their rising merit; and the songstresses brought up the rear. In this order they went round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'[16] Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*."[17] 727 796

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay."[18] 791 784

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,[19] but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.[19] In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.[20] Adair continues regarding this matter: 727 782

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

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[16] Last year I heard the Choktah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a regular anthems and dirge, in the dusk of the evening, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskohge.—Note by Adair.

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 166–167.

[18] Ibid., p. 152.

[19] Ibid., p. 154.

[20] Ibid., p. 155.

727 782 what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawānoh Indians who settled between the *Ose-Aas* and *Koosah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly." [illegible]

721 554 From all this it may be seen that the main object of fighting was not to defeat the enemy from any such sentiment as devotion to country or desire for plunder, but to obtain scalps and thereby social advancement and to placate the souls of the departed. From this fact and the heavy penalties laid upon the war leader in case of failure it transpired that the Indians seldom attacked against odds unless they believed their attack to be unexpected. A small, resolute 726 body time and again beat off odds that could easily have wiped them out had it not been for the great fear of even slight loss on the part of the attackers. Adair mentions an instance in which 80 Choctaw would not attack the party to which he belonged, consisting of about 40 Chickasaw with women and children to protect, because they knew that their presence had been discovered. [illegible] On another occasion he states that 17 Chickasaw, accompanied by their wives and children, fought off more than 60 Choctaw. [illegible] In the time of [722] an attack on the town or camp, Adair says, "It is usual for the women to sing the enlivening war songs; and it inflames the men's spirits so highly that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an instance of the Indians running off, though, from a numerous enemy and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands. [illegible] In another connection Adair mentions as a war custom the killing of a great number of captives because the leader of the war party had been wounded and his life was despaired of. [illegible] He cites an instance in which a Chickasaw had been killed by some Choctaw after having been given food and, since this fact was cast up against the Choctaw by the avenging party, it would seem to have been contrary to native laws of war. This is further strengthened by the fact that the Chickasaw thus killed was not scalped. In consequence the Chickasaw left the Choctaw whom they killed in retaliation also unscalped. [illegible]

These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

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[illegible] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Ibid., pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Ibid., p. [illegible].

[illegible] Ibid., p. [illegible].

[illegible] Ibid., p. [illegible].

ever we can get independent testimony from writers familiar with 726
other tribes. As Adair's account is the best, I have chosen it as a nucleus about which to assemble the facts recorded by others. From the Alabama living in Texas I have obtained a little information confirmatory of what Adair tells us concerning the ark.

According to traditions they formerly had an ark which they took 726
to war and which enabled them to defeat all of their enemies. When 778
they camped they hung this ark upon a tree, or anything else, a short distance in front of them, and if a cry was heard coming from it during the night it meant that next day they would find and kill enemies. If the cry was like that of a woman, it meant that they would find and kill a woman, for the cry meant that the ark had caught the enemy. If no cry was heard from the ark, they would kill no one.

My informant spoke as if the tribe were possessed of but a single medicine of this kind, but there was probably at least one to each town and most likely more.

By the Indians of Tuskegee Speck was told that one of the medicines in the war bundle or "ark" "was believed to be parts of the horns of a certain mythical snake that was captured and killed by the people after it had destroyed many of them for generations. These horns were believed to render the warriors immune to wounds. Another object remembered as part of the bundle's contents was cedar leaves, *atcína*. When a warrior became wounded he called for the *hobáya* to come to him and give him an emetic of the *atcína* which was thought to insure recovery. A wounded man had little hope for recovery if this could not be done."[28] The "snake medicine" is also mentioned by Hawkins,[29] along with a medicine derived from the bones of a supernatural mythic panther, destroyed in the distant past by the remote ancestors of the Creeks. This last also appears in the migration legend related by Chekilli.[30]

Before proceeding to the Creek customs proper, some scraps of 726
evidence may be added regarding ancient Alabama war customs as contained in the traditions concerning their wars with the Choctaw.

The Alabama and Choctaw fought against each other for a long time. They used to take each other's scalps. A party of Indians would come near an enemy's house and hide, and, if a man came out of it, they would kill and scalp him and run off. They attacked on dark nights when the people in the houses could not see, and covered themselves with leaves so that they could not be detected even if the people hunted about outside. If a woman went down to a creek to wash clothing she would perhaps be killed and scalped by a man

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[28] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 113.
[29] See p. [illegible].
[30] See p. [illegible].

726 lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

The Choctaw once captured an Alabama boy. When he grew up the Choctaw fought against the Alabama, and he helped them, so the Alabama wanted to capture him. They went to a conjurer and asked his aid. He promised them that he would aid them and told the women to get sticks with which to whip the prospective captive. Then the Alabama captured him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him for a long time. After a while they piled weeds all about him and set them on fire but still he did not die. Then they tied dry grass around him by means of a rope fastened about the tree, set it on fire, and danced about him shaking their rattles. When he was nearly dead he fell down, and they shook their gourd rattles over him until he expired.

721 554 The best account of institutional killing among the Creeks themselves, except that of Milfort, is given by Swan and is as follows:

561 "Every individual is at liberty to choose whether or not he shall engage in any warlike enterprise. But the rage of young men to acquire war-names, and the thirst of plunder in the elder ones and leaders, are motives sufficient to raise gangs of volunteers to go in quest of hair and horses at any time when they are disengaged from hunting. It is little matter with them what the pretence for going to war may be. They think that force constitutes right; and victory is an infallible proof of justice on their side; and they attack as boldly as they are indefatigable in securing a scalp, or to obtain plunder.

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair.

727 554 "When a young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-whoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him a man and a warrior,

727 554 worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly.

721 554 578 "Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Este dogo, i. e. *you are nobody* [isti toko, 'person is not']; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once.

726 "The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen.

727 "When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity.

"It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

721 "Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government."[a]

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars:

726 "They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The

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[a] Same in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. [illegible].

726 final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of the chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy. On a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red, black, and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders, their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt. . . . They all take their seats as they come. When assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square where he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other; in a very little time their singing and dancing, is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns. When they are assembled on their way to their enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above.

"I will try to return to the former subject. After a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man, woman, and child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relations, let them be far or near. After they have collected all their kindred, they are ready to commence hositlities on the enemy. Then if one of the other nation is seen by them he is certainly destroyed; their petty wars are wars of extermination. They commence by small parties on venture, not man against man but tribe against tribe. It is a praiseworthy action for a man or a party of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man, who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he [the slayer] was not afraid to go into his enemy's country but achieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped." [23]

726 The following statement from Hawkins gives an excellent idea of
the voluntary character of war parties, and the relation of the war
622 to the civil chiefs. War "is always determined on by the Great
701 Warrior [i. e. the Tȧstȧnȧgi łȧko]. When the Micco and counsellors
are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet
against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is
taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their
prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding
by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he
is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous,
the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among
them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have

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[23] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 34-35.

been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk. 726 622

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off."[33] 701

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says: 726

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanidja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[34] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by[35] and Is-te-pau-pau,[36] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic."[37]

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which 726 177 642

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[33] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

[34] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.

[35] This is intended for tcito yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chicote told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.

[36] Isti papa, "person eater."

[37] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

726 177 642 several towns joined. There was not before or after this time the same unity of action, not even in the Creek-American War. The general correctness of Milfort's account is indicated by numerous points of agreement with the facts recorded by Adair and the other writers quoted above; in particular the prominent position he gives the war club as a war symbol tallies exactly with every scrap of information derived from other sources. The war medicines spoken of by Hawkins and in Chekilli's migration legend do not appear here; they were probably carried only by the head chief, or perhaps only by the chief of Kasihta.

Milfort claims to have been instrumental in doing away with the custom of burning captives at the stake,[88] but from what Bartram says[88a] it is evident that it had begun to decline several years before. Milfort also says that he induced the Indians to rate the taking of a prisoner at three scalps which should belong to the captor.[89]

His account follows:

726 "When he [the head war chief] had made known the necessity of calling together the warriors, a club was immediately exposed in public, part of which was painted red; that signified that a part of the nation, that is the young men, must hold themselves in readiness to march; for if the club had been colored red all over the entire nation would have had to prepare itself, something which happens only under extraordinary circumstances. The manner of painting this club red also lets each particular chief know at the same time how many men he must bring with him to the appointed rendezvous, so that the head war chief is always certain of the number of soldiers he will have at his disposal, a number which he regulates according as circumstances demand, and which he is able to fix absolutely.

[211] "When it is thus necessary to assemble the warriors at a common rendezvous, the head war chief has a club partly colored red given to each subordinate chief; it is usually accompanied by a certain number of little sticks, which serve to inform the warriors who carry them into the different cantons of the nation, of the day when they must be at the general rendezvous, with the number of young men needed for the march. Each day at sunrise a stick is thrown away, and the day on which they throw away the last must be that of their arrival at the place of meeting; there have been few cases of delay in this general muster. In order to provide against every slip of the memory, the bearers of the red club are obliged to give to each chief every day the watchword, which is usually the name of the place and the day of the meeting. I am going to give here a more detailed account of this red club, to say how it is given and what is its use.

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[88] Milfort, Mém., p. 222.

[88a] Bartram, Travels, p. 211.

[89] Milfort, op. cit.

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"Before the Indians were acquainted with firearms, they used in combats only arrows and clubs; they have now entirely abandoned these arms, but they have preserved the club, as a sign of war only, and have replaced it in battle with the tomahawk or little hatchet. 726

"When the nation is forced to take arms, the head war chief or Tastanégy has exposed in the public squares a club, part of which is painted red; he also sends one to each band chief, accompanied by a number of sticks equal to that of the days which must elapse before he must present himself at the rendezvous. The head chief has absolute authority in fixing this day. 726 796

"When this club comes, each band chief has the drum beaten in front of the grand cabin [tcokofa] of the town or village where he lives. All of the inhabitants repair thither immediately; he makes known to them the day and the place where he is going to light his fire; he repairs to this place before the appointed day, and lights the fire by rubbing two sticks of wood against each other; he places it in the middle of a square formed of four stakes, which is only large enough to hold the number of warriors which he wishes to assemble.

"At daybreak the chief places himself between the two stakes which face the rising sun; he holds in his hand a bundle of sticks. When a warrior enters the enclosure, which is open only on this side, he throws down a stick and continues until he reaches the last, when the number equals the number of soldiers which he needs. All of those who present themselves afterward are not admitted, and return home to take their hunting weapons, leaving directions where they are going to hunt, so that they can be found if they are needed. Those who thus present themselves too late are ill received when they return to their families, who reproach them for the lack of enthusiasm which they have shown in defending their fatherland.

"The warriors who are within the enclosure take there, for three days, a war medicine, of which I will speak presently; their women bring their arms and the things needed in the campaign; they place everything a hundred paces from the square; they add to these a little sack, in which is some corn or maize meal, an ounce of which suffices to make a pint of porridge. It is only necessary to dilute it with cold water and in five or six minutes it becomes as thick as porridge cooked over the fire: two ounces are sufficient to nourish a man for twenty-four hours. The savages make use of this porridge only when they are in the presence of the enemy, because then they are unable to go hunting.

"The three medicine days having expired, the chief leaves with his warriors, in order to be present at the general rendezvous indicated by the head chief. Independently of this medicine, taken generally, each band chief has a particular medicine, or rather

726 796 talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition.[*]

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

726 272 "When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

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727 [*] Elsewhere Milfort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained: "When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

because the circumstances do not demand the great one. It is for the sagacity of the chief to turn this superstition to advantage. 726 272

"This medicine, of the moral effect of which I have just spoken, has two effects purely physical. The first is that the Indians are very fond of getting drunk on strong liquors, and it is necessary to find a means of depriving them of these without exciting their murmurs. The medicine, great or little, offers this means, since, before taking it, they may not drink any liquor, a matter which they observe very religiously; and the chief, having the right to order it when he thinks that it is proper, can, in that way, preserve the utmost sobriety in the army. The second is that this medicine is really purgative, and the warrior thus purged is less endangered by the wounds which he receives, and which, in consequence, heal very promptly unless they are mortal. These people have still another means of diminishing the danger from their wounds, which is to fight almost naked. They recognize that a woolen garment, some particles of which almost always remain in the wounds, makes them much more difficult to heal and more dangerous. Thus shrewdness and religion, supporting each other, lend mutual assistance, and turn to the profit of those who know how to use them. [273]

"The Moskoquis observe, during war, a very rigorous discipline; they can neither eat nor drink without the order of their chiefs. I have seen them go without drinking, even when swimming across a river, because circumstances had obliged their chief to forbid it to them under pain of depriving them of their little war medicine, that is, of the influence of the talisman."[a] 726

"When they go to war they observe a very rigorous discipline. At the moment when they approach the enemy, they march in single file, the chief of the party at their head, and so arrange it that all the following warriors step in the footprints of the first. Even those are sometimes concealed by the last man by means of grass. In this manner they prevent the enemy from telling their number. When they halt or camp they form a circle, and leave open only one passage large enough to admit one man. They seat themselves with their legs crossed, and each has his gun beside him. The chief faces the entrance of the circle, where no soldier can go out without his permission. When it is time to rest he gives the signal, and then no one is allowed to move. The awaking is also by a signal.

"It is usually the head chief who indicates the positions,[b] and who has the sentinels placed charged with caring for the safety of the

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[a] "I have already said that the great medicine or general medicine is taken before setting out."—Milfort. It is not altogether clear whether Milfort means that they were to be threatened with deprivation of the little war medicine taken internally or the medicine sack, but the former was probably intended. Milfort, Mém., pp. 238-240.

[b] Elsewhere he tells us that particular clans had the right to certain positions when on a war expedition. "These same [privileged] families, that is, the young warriors who belong to them, usually march to war ahead, and the war chief takes care to preserve this prerogative, unless circumstances compel another disposition. It is a means of emulation from which he sometimes derives great advantage." (p. 255.)

726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it."[43]

727 554 703 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

701 726 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

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[43] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217-219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 426-427.

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combat. A cry, repeated to left and right, informs all of the warriors 701 of the danger to which their chief is exposed. Immediately all of the bodies of reserves unite and march to the place where the head 726 chief is in order to compel the enemy to leave him; if he is dead they would all die rather than abandon his body to the enemy without having carried off his scalp. They attach such honour to the loss of this scalp that, when the danger is too great, and they are unable, in spite of all their efforts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, the warrior who is nearest to the chief kills him himself, removes his scalp, and takes to flight uttering a cry which is known only to savages, and repairs at once to the place which had been indicated by this same chief whither they should retire in case they were beaten. All of the under chiefs, informed by this cry of the death of the head chief, prepare to retreat; and as soon as it [the retreat] is brought about, before taking any other measure, they proceed to the nomination of a new head war chief in order that the enemy may not perceive the loss of the first which they have suffered.[45]

Bartram speaks of a "royal standard" made of the tail feathers of 726 the *Vultur sacra*, "which is called by a name signifying the eagle's tail." "This," he goes on to say, "they carry with them when they go to battle, but then it is painted with a zone of red within the brown tips; and in peaceable negotiations it is displayed new, clean, and white; this standard is held most sacred by them on all occasions, and is constructed and ornamented with great ingenuity. These birds seldom appear but when the deserts [i. e., uninhabited areas] are set on fire (which happens almost every day throughout the year, in some part or other, by the Indians, for the purpose of rousing the game, as also by lightning)."[46]

This can only have been the calumet, which was often detached from the pipe and borne about separately. It is not mentioned by the other writers as an article carried along by a war party, unless Adair has it in mind when he says that the Muskogee "had exchanged their bloody tomohawks, and red and black painted swans wings, a strong emblem of blood and death, in confirmation of their offensive and defensive treaty."[47] It may be that their swan-feather crowns were painted and worn in war but he nowhere so says. He mentions the war pipes, however, to which the tribal beaus used to fasten fawns' trotters, small pieces of tinkling metal, or wild turkey-cock spurs "with the addition of a piece of an enemy's scalp with a tuft of long hair hanging down from the middle of the stem, each of them painted red: and they still observe that old custom, only they choose bell-buttons, to give a greater sound."[48]

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[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 249-254.

[46] Bartram, Travels, pp. 149-150.

[47] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 282.

[48] Ibid., pp. 6-7

726 302 Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war[a] but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

726 789 Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To conteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as ina hĭta, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

701 Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.[b] They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called hobayi mi'ko, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as tästånagi łåko. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the hobayutci, "little-far-away." Third came the tästånåk hobayi, "far-away-warrior," fourth the tästånåkutci, "little warrior," fifth the lihomāhti or "trailer," and sixth the lĭhomahtūtci, or "little trailer." These two last were

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[a] Milfort, Mém., pp. 23-34.

[b] See p. 367 and also pp. 617-620 in the second paper of this volume.

scouts whose duties were to determine whither the enemy had gone. 7?1
Seventh and lastly there was an officer known as the minkiso or inki'su, who looked after the supplies—i. e., he was the head of the commissary department. If another tribe had committed some depredation the sufferers would send runners out who uttered a peculiar whoop, and when this was heard the people would meet at some designated spot and these officers would put themselves at their head. Or if some young men desired to go out after scalps they would signify their desire and these officers would head them.

As it seems unlikely that so many officers would go out at the 701
same time in order to satisfy the thirst for glory of one or two youths, we are probably to understand that this represents the complete 791
quota of officers for a party of some size. That the leader of every party was ordinarily called hobayi seems to be established by the testimony of Adair[50] and Jackson Lewis. Adair states that he was a kind of temporary war priest, and Jackson Lewis, as above stated, declared that he was always selected from among those men who had received the training of a doctor.[51] Doctor Speck's informant, it will be noticed, distinguishes the hobayi or "hobáya" from the war leader ("*imíssi*"), and lays particular emphasis on the religious functions of the former. He is described as "a shaman and prophet," as "a busy man in battle," who "besides carrying the fetishes and administering the emetic . . . had to sing and shout certain songs and formulas which would frighten and confuse the enemy."[52] It is possible that, while the war leader was normally a hobayi, one who had received a doctor's training, there were exceptions, and that, in such cases, for reasons that we can well appreciate, it was thought necessary that a hobayi accompany the expedition. This would account very satisfactorily for the discrepancies between Doctor Speck's description of a war party and the others.

It will be remembered that Bartram, in his account of the chunkey 727
yard, speaks of two "slave posts" to which captives were tied when they were to be tortured and burned to death.[53] It is doubtful whether the number and position of these was very definite. They are still faintly remembered by some of the old Indians and are said to have been in the shape of war clubs (atasa). It is also recalled that they tied grass about the bodies of the captives and set it on fire. As in the case of the Chickasaw, older captives were usually burned at the stake, and the younger ones adopted unless they had been devoted in advance.

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[50] See p. 411. Mr. McCombs says that only the mike ranked higher.

[51] See p. 426.

[52] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.

[53] See p. 178.

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From Adair's account it will be seen that killing and scalping had a religious as well as a social basis, the former being the necessity the people felt themselves under—in this respect like the ancient Greeks—of placating the souls of the dead. There is every reason to think that ancient Creek belief was practically the same, but this side of the institution appears to have died first, the social advancement to be won through scalps being a more persistent motive.

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In the most ancient times stockades, in which natural features were taken advantage of and which sometimes had moats, played a great part in warfare, especially in regions often harried by war parties. It is significant that the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition do not mention such structures until they reached the tribes near Tennessee River—i. e., the frontiers of the Muskhogean peoples toward the north.[54] In this quarter they were probably subject to incursions of Cherokee, Iroquois, and Shawnee and other Algonkian peoples. Stockades were again found along Alabama River, and from thence to the Mississippi—i. e., on the western Creek boundary. Ulibahali and a deserted town near it were stockaded, also Mabila, Chickasaw, and Alibamo.[55] The following description of a stockade is given by Ranjel:

"Three days march southeast of Tuasi (Tawasa) and two days before they came to Talisi (Tulsa) the Spaniards "came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong."[56]

Similar to this is Elvas's account of the stockade of Ulibahali. "The fence," he says, "which was like that to other towns seen afterwards, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles of the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loopholes for archery." [57]

Methods of constructing fences of this character were well known throughout the Southeast, and Le Moyne gives what purports to be a picture of one seen in Florida, though it appears to be utterly unreliable.[58]

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When De Soto and his companions entered the temple, or rather ossuary, of Talimeco they found there "breastplates like corselets

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[54] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 15, 108.

[55] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 86, 90, 104, 108; vol. II, pp. 18, 24, 114, 123, 126, 136.

[56] Ibid., vol. II, p. 115.

[57] Ibid., vol. I, p. 85.

[58] This description is given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 379-380. Cf. also Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 133-134.

and headpieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off; and also very good shields." [59] Farther on the Indians who came across the Mississippi to oppose the Spaniards "had shields made of canes joined, so strong and so closely interwoven with such thread that a crossbow could hardly pierce them." [60] The existence of armor and shields among the southern Indians is therefore proved, although they were given up soon after white contact because the introduction of guns rendered them useless. 411

In their fights with the Spaniards the Indians usually went naked, and they had carried the science of warfare with the bow and arrow to a high level, as the Spaniards freely testify. Elvas says: "The Indians are exceedingly ready with their weapons, and so warlike and nimble, that they have no fear of footmen; for if these charge them they flee, and when they turn their backs they are presently upon them. They avoid nothing more easily than the flight of an arrow. They never remain quiet, but are continually running, traversing from place to place, so that neither crossbow nor arquebuse can be aimed at them. Before a Christian can make a single shot with either, an Indian will discharge three or four arrows; and he seldom misses of his object. Where the arrow meets with no armour, it pierces as deeply as the shaft from a crossbow." [61] He adds that the arrows with heads generally broke on a target, but those made of sharpened cane would go through, and they would split against armor but penetrate it.[62] Cabeza de Vaca, in speaking of an encounter between the people of Narvaez and the Apalachee, says: "There were men that day who swore they had seen two oak trees, each as thick as the calf of a leg, shot through and through by arrows, which is not surprising if we consider the force and dexterity with which they shoot. I myself saw an arrow that had penetrated the base of a poplar tree for half a foot in length." [63] Says Ranjel, in describing the battle of Mabila: "The arrow shots were tremendous, and sent with such a will and force that the lance of one gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, made of two pieces of ash and very good, was pierced by an arrow in the middle, as by an augur, without being split, and the arrow made a cross with the lance." [64] By means of arrows on which flaming tree moss had been tied houses and other constructions were set on fire by the Florida Indians as described and illustrated by Le Moyne. The Chickasaw used another device to fire their town when it was occupied by the Spaniards, the same resorted to by Gideon. They brought fire past the sentinels in little pots, two to four getting by at a time.[65] 726 411

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[60] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, p. 102.

[61] Ibid., p. 136.

[62] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 25-26.

[63] Jour. of Alvar. Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Bandelier Narr., p. 31.

[64] Bourne, op. cit., vol. II, p. 127.

[65] Ibid., pp. 29-33.

De Soto found the Apalachee as intrepid and warlike as did Narvaez. To Garcilasso, Alonso de Carmona thus described them and their method of fighting:

"Those Indians of Apalache are very tall, very valiant and full of spirit; since, just as they showed themselves and fought with those who were with Pamphilo de Narvaez, and drove them out of the country in spite of themselves, they kept flying in our faces every day and we had daily brushes with them; and as they failed to make any headway with us, because our Governor was very brave, energetic, and experienced in Indian warfare, they concluded to withdraw to the woods in small bands, and as the Spaniards were going out for wood and were cutting it in the forest, the Indians would come up at the sound of the axe and would kill the Spaniards and loose the chains of the Indians whom they brought to carry back the cut wood and take the Spaniards' scalps, which was what they most prized, to hang upon the arm of their bows with which they fought; and at the sound of the voices and of arms we would immediately repair thither, and we found the consequences of a lack of precaution. In that way they killed for us more than twenty soldiers, and this happened frequently. And I remember that one day seven horsemen went out from the camp to forage for food and to kill a little dog to eat; which we were used to do in that land, and a day that we got something we thought ourselves lucky; and not even pheasants ever tasted better to us. And going in search of these things they fell in with five Indians who were waiting for them with bows and arrows, and they drew a line on the ground and told them not to cross that or they would all die. And the Spaniards, who would not take any fooling, attacked them, and the Indians shot off their bows and killed two horses and wounded two others, and also a Spaniard severely; and the Spaniards killed one of the Indians and the rest took to their heels and got away, for they are truly very nimble and are not impeded by the adornments of clothes, but rather are much helped by going bare." [illegible]

Canoe fights took place at times, most frequently in Florida or on the Mississippi. The following from Garcilasso will give some idea of a canoe fight and of the strategy employed by the Indians:

"When the enemy had been some time following us in order to reconnoitre, they separated their fleet into three divisions. The troops of Quigaltanqui put themselves at the head, but they could not really learn whether he commanded them himself, although they often heard him mentioned in the songs of the barbarians. Afterwards, all the vessels of the fleet advanced to the right towards the bank of the river, and got the lead. Those of the first division immediately attacked our caravels, in crossing to the other side of the

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[illegible] Garcilasso in Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 151-152.

river, and covered them with arrows, so that there were several Spaniards wounded. The first division was no sooner on the left than it recrossed and came and recovered its place; nevertheless, always advancing beyond the brigantines. The second division, which crossed after having attacked with fury, returned to the right and placed itself at the head of the first. The third passed in the same manner, and having showered a quantity of arrows upon the soldiers, they rejoined those of their party and came and posted themselves in front of the second division. In the mean time, as our caravels did not cease rowing, they arrived at the position of the barbarians who had first attacked them, and who began to attack them in the same manner as before. The others also attacked, each in their order and their accustomed manner, and harassed the Spaniards all the day. Even during the night they tormented them, but not with so much persistency, for they made but two attacks, the first a little before sunset, and the other before daybreak." [66] 726

A little beyond he records the adroit manner in which the Indians withdrew before a party of Spaniards who were advancing in canoes, suddenly rushed upon them from all sides, and upset their boats, thereby destroying all but four of the occupants.[66] Doubtless such scenes as these were many times repeated in desperate intertribal wars waged along this river and in the coast regions.

Peace making was, naturally enough, a prerogative of the miko or civil chief and his counsellors, as Hawkins says.[67] He adds that "peace talks are always addressed to the cabin of the Mic-co," and that in some cases, where the resentment of the warriors has run high, the Micco and council have been much embarrassed." [67] 728

The only accounts of peace making ceremonies of any length are two from Adair. They are in a way complementary but indicate some slight divergence in the customs under different conditions. His first statement is as follows:

"When two nations of Indians are making, or renewing, peace with each other, the ceremonies and solemnities they use, carry the face of great antiquity, and are very striking to a curious spectator, which I shall here relate, so far as it suits the present subject. When strangers of note arrive near the place, where they design to contract new friendship, or confirm their old amity, they send a messenger a-head, to inform the people of their amicable intention. He carries a swan's wing in his hand, painted all over with streaks of white clay, as an expressive emblem of their embassy. The next day, when they have made their friendly parade, with firing off their guns

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[66] Garcilasso in Shipp's History of De Soto and Florida, pp. 466-467.

[67] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

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and whooping, and have entered the beloved square, their chieftain, who is a-head of the rest, is met by one of the old beloved men, or magi, of the place. He and the visitant approach one another, in a bowing posture. The former says, *Yò, ish la chu Anggóna?*[70] . . . The other replies, *Yah—Arahre-O, Anggona.*[71] The magus then grasps the stranger with both his hands, around the wrist of his right hand, which holds some green branches—again, about the elbow—then around the arm, close to his shoulder, as a near approach to the heart. Then his immediately waving the eagles tails over the head of the stranger, is the strongest pledge of good faith."[72]

The later statement runs thus:

"I can not however conclude this argument, without a few remarks concerning the Indian methods of *making peace*, and of renewing their old friendship. They first smoke out of the friend-pipe, and eat together; then they drink of the *Cusseena*, using such invocations as have been mentioned, and proceed to wave their large fans of eagles-tails, concluding with a dance. The persons visited, appoint half a dozen of their most active and expert young warriors to perform this religious duty, who have had their own temples adorned with the swanfeather-cap. They paint their bodies with white clay, and cover their heads with swan-down; then approaching the chief representative of the strangers, who by way of honour, and strong assurance of friendship, is seated on the central white or holy seat, 'the beloved cabin' (which is about nine feet long and seven feet broad),[72a] they wave the eagles tails backward and forward over his head.[73] Immediately they begin the solemn song with an awful air; and presently they dance in a bowing posture; then they raise themselves so erect, that their faces look partly upwards, waving the eagles tails with their right hand toward heaven, sometimes with a slow, at others with a quick motion; at the same time they touch their breast with their small calabash and pebbles fastened to a stick about a foot long, which they hold in their left hand, keeping time with the motion of the eagles tails; during the dance, they repeat the usual divine notes, Yo, etc., and wave the eagles tails now and then over the stranger's head, not moving above two yards backward or forward before him. They are so surprisingly expert in their supposed religious office, and observe time so exactly, with their particular gestures and notes, that there is not the least discernible discord. . . .

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[70] *Yo*, excl.; *ishla*, thou hast come; *che*, sign of interrogation; *a·hene*, my friend.

[71] Yes, yes; *alali*, I am come; *O*, strengthening particle; *a·hene*, my friend.

[72] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 60.

[72a] The dimensions given show that Adair is speaking merely of the central section of the west bed. See pp. 181, 185.

[73] When they are disaffected, or intend to declare war, they will not allow any of the party against whom they have hostile views, to approach the white seat; as their holy men, and holy places, are considered firmly bound to keep good faith and give sure refuge.—Adair.

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"The Indians can not shew greater honour to the greatest potentate on earth than to place him in the white seat—invoke Yo He Wah, while he is drinking the Cusseena, and dance before him with the eagles tails. When two chieftains are renewing, or perpetuating friendship with each other, they are treated with the same ceremonies. And in their circular friendly dances, when they honour their guests, and pledge themselves to keep good faith with them, they sometimes sing their divine notes with a very awful air, pointing their right hand towards the sky. Some years ago, I saw the Kooasahte Indians (two hundred miles up Mobile River) perform this rite with much solemnity; as if invoking the deity by their notes and gestures, to enable them to shew good-will to their fellow-creatures, and to bear witness of their faithful vows and conduct."[74] 728

A peace-making ambassador, besides carrying the swans' wings, was provided with eagles' tails, white beads, white pipes, and tobacco.[75] When Adair visited the Choctaw for the purpose of concluding peace with them, they tied strings of beads about his neck, arms, and legs, and in return he presented to them silver arm-plates, gorgets, wrist plates, ear bobs, and so on.[76]

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture among the Creeks had both an economic and a social side. We are here concerned only with the latter. Each town, in addition to small garden plots worked by individual families, or rather by their female members, had a large common field located as near the town as possible. This was planted with corn chiefly, although beans, squashes, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, and rice are mentioned by early travelers, the last three contributions from the whites. The allotments of the different households were separated by a narrow strip of grass, poles, or any suitable natural or artificial boundary. In caring for this the town acted together, under the charge of an overseer said to have been appointed annually. He called the men to the square by going through the town blowing upon a conch shell or uttering a loud cry. Immediately they gathered with hoes and axes, and then marched in order to the field as if they were going to battle, headed by their overseer. The women followed in detached parties bearing the provisions for the day. Anyone who attempted to shirk was fined. In the field they also worked together, beginning with the patch at one end and going through to the last. In this way they prepared the field, planted it, and cultivated it from time to time until the harvest was ready. While they were at work they sang certain special songs. Generally they suspended work early in the afternoon and indulged in ball games or other sports, which were 241

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[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 167-169.

[75] These things are enumerated by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 260-278, and 318.

[76] Ibid., p. 281.

241 followed by a dance in the evening. While the corn was in the ground the young people, under the supervision of some of their elders, were stationed in the fields, where small shelters were often built for them, and drove away any animals and birds coming to disturb it. The boys were armed with bows and arrows, and had acquired such skill with these that Bartram says they loaded themselves with squirrels, birds, and other small game in the course of the day.[77] According to the same writer the men took turns patrolling the field at night, "to protect their provisions from the depredations of night rovers, as bears, raccoons, and deer, the two former being immoderately fond of young corn, when the grain is filled with a rich milk, as sweet and nourishing as cream; and the deer are as fond of the Potatoe vines."[77]

When the harvest was ripe all proceeded to the field in the same manner, but this time each family garnered from his own plot. The women made sacks out of cowskins, and the corn was carried home in these after it had been shucked. Then it was laid away in rows in the different granaries, the better corn farther back as that which would last longest, the worse nearer the entrance. A portion of the harvest, however, each family contributed to a large corncrib, which Bartram says was called "the king's crib."[78] This constituted a [621] reserve supply upon which to fall back when the private granaries gave out. Or it was used to succor other towns, to feed travelers, to supply to war parties, and so on. It was, in fact, a kind of public commissary.

I was told that the ground of the hilis-haya or physic maker was planted by some of the old women in return for his services. This must refer to his garden plot. At Tukabahchee and Kealedji it was close to the northwestern edge of the grounds.

HUNTING

224 Hunting and the ball play were close rivals for the second place after war in the esteem of the ancient Creeks. The former was of course a necessity and has its strictly economic side which does not here concern us. A few words may, however, be said regarding it from the social and religious points of view.

Elsewhere I have spoken of the ancient rights to hunting grounds and of the times of the year when hunting expeditions were undertaken.[78a]

The Creeks usually took medicines and washed their guns in them before they went after game. The Alabama, and probably the Creeks in general, steamed themselves thoroughly in the sweat house and then plunged into a cold stream before they set out. If several hunters were going together they took the sweat bath one at a time. While they were out they put Indian tobacco (hitci pakpagi) under every campfire both going and returning in order to keep away the maleficent spirits of the dead. Before leaving home the hunters prepared a pot of medicine. The last of the ingredients to be put into this were four sticks of miko hoyanīdja which went on top. This medicine was used for four successive days, and afterwards the four sticks of miko hoyanīdja were taken out and carried along by the party. Afterwards the same medicine was employed by them in all kinds of ways, as an emetic, to bathe in, steam in, etc. If the hunter were not successful he might use another such as the "devil's shoestring" or a vine called itco hiliswa ("deer medicine"). These matters were of course under the direction of a medicine man, since one of these accompanied each party. According to an Alabama informant when deer were killed each hunter gave the medicine man a skin by way of payment, but this probably applied only when the hunt was reasonably successful.

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[77] Bartram, Travels, p. 192.

[78] Ibid., p. 510.

[78a] See pp. 336-337, 404-405.

Eakins says that each hunting party made its own regulations regarding the distribution of the game. "The person who starts an animal and wounds it, is entitled to the skin. The meat is divided according to agreement. Each one bags his own game. In cases of thefts from traps, the offenders are punished by law." [79]

When an Alabama hunter gave a bear bone to his dogs he laid it down near by, for if he threw it some distance off he feared that the bear would run away. In fact he threw bear bones far from him at no time. Dishes soiled with bear grease must not be washed at the creek, but instead a bucket of water must be brought to the camp and the dishes must be washed there. The same thing must be done with dishes soiled with deer grease; deer bones could, however, be thrown anywhere. If these regulations were not observed it was believed the hunters would kill nothing. Boys were not allowed to wrestle about in camp: if they did a bear would jump upon someone and kill him. After his return the successful hunter divided his meat among all of the houses in the yard and sent a little to his own parents. Nevertheless, the cooking was done by each family separately. "I have often observed," says Bossu, "that when they returned from the chase the chiefs took great care, before dividing the food, to set aside the share of the old men who were to return to the widows and the orphans whose fathers had been killed in war in defense of the fatherland." [80]

After an Indian had chased a bear, deer, or other game animal for a long time until he had become tired and sweaty he would take a fish-tooth scratcher and scratch one thigh until the blood ran. This would prevent him from getting tired out. Long ago the Indians

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[79] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

[80] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 26-27.

224 scratched their bodies all over so that the loss of blood would lighten them and they would be able to run long distances without becoming weary. Regarding the Indian runners in his time Adair says:

"Though some of us have often ran the swiftest of them out of sight, when on the chase in a collective body, for about the distance of twelve miles; yet, afterward, without any seeming toil, they would stretch on, leave us out of sight, and out-wind any horse." He reinforces this statement by telling how the Choctaw chief Red Shoes had run down and killed a French trader mounted on a fast horse.[81]

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

202 The languages of the southern Indians are matters for separate discussion, and, as our classification is based on language, that in itself will indicate the number of dialects so far as they are known. Some other means of communicating intelligence were also in existence. I shall speak presently of mnemonic devices such as notches, knots, beads, and pictures.[81a] Smoke signals were also in use. In the Elvas account of the De Soto expedition we read that "so soon as the Christians appeared in sight of land [near Tampa Bay, Florida], they were descried, and all along the coast many smokes were seen to rise, which the Indians make to warn one another."[82] And I was told myself that when the Seminole in Oklahoma went out hunting they divided into parties which preserved the proper distance from one another by smoke signals. They would light a fire, and, as the film of smoke rose they would stop it at intervals by throwing a blanket over it. Whooping also formed a kind of means of communication. The death whoop and the whoop of the successful warrior coming in with a scalp were well known. Adair also speaks of "the whoop of friendship," "the whoop of defiance," and the "news whoop."[83] Most interesting of all was a sign language. The exist-
201 ence of such a language among the Plains Indians is well recognized and by them it was carried to a high point of development. It is not so well known that there was such a language among the southern Indians, but the existence at least of a rough and ready device of the kind seems to be proven by Adair, who says:

"The present American Aborigines seem to be as skilful Pantomimi, as ever were those of ancient Greece or Rome, or the modern Turkish mutes, who describe the meanest things spoken, by gesture, action, and the passions of the face. Two far-distant Indian nations, who understand not a word of each other's language, will intelligibly converse together, and contract engagements, without an interpreter, in such a surprising manner, as is scarcely credible."[84]

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[81] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 318.

[81a] See pp. 453–456.

[82] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. 1, p. 22.

[83] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 166, 168, 264, 273, 276, 277, 281, 315, 325, 338.

[84] Ibid., p. 79.

TRAVEL AND GREETINGS

The material I have collected under this head may well be introduced by the following from Adair, which pictures the primitive customs in that regard very satisfactorily: 484 574

"When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they enquire for a house of their own tribe [i. e., clan]; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never saw the persons before—they eat, drink, and regale themselves, with as much freedom, as at their own tables; which is the solid ground covered with a bear-skin. It is their ususal custom to carry nothing along with them in their journies but a looking-glass, and red paint, hung to their back—their gun and shot pouch—or bow and quiver full of barbed arrows; and, frequently, both gun and bow; for as they are generally in a state of war against each other, they are obliged, as soon as able, to carry those arms of defence. Every town has a statehouse, or synedrion, as the Jewish sanhedrin, [i. e., the tcokofa] where, almost every night, the head men convene about public business; or the town's-people to feast, sing, dance, and rejoice, ... as will fully be described hereafter. And if a stranger calls there, he is treated with the greatest civility and hearty kindness—he is sure to find plenty of their simple home fare, and a large cane-bed covered with the softened skins of bears, or buffaloes, to sleep on. But, when his lineage is known to the people, (by a stated custom, they are slow in greeting one another) his relation, if he has any there, addresses him in a familiar way, invites him home, and treats him as his kinsman."[85]

Bartram has the following to say about the hospitality of these people and it is confirmed in the main by Adair who remarks like all early writers that hospitality was considered a cardinal virtue among them and its absence a serious blemish.[86] 574

"A man goes forth on his business or avocations; he calls in at another town; if he wants victuals, rest or social conversation, he confidently approaches the door of the first house he chooses, saying 'I am come'; [and] the good man or woman replies, 'You are; it's well.' Immediately victuals and drink are ready; he eats and drinks a little, then smokes tobacco, and converses either of private matters, public talks, or the news of the town. He rises and says, 'I go!' the other answers, 'You do!' He then proceeds again, and steps in at the next habitation he likes, or repairs to the public square, where are people always conversing by day, or dancing by night, or to some more private assembly, as he likes."[87]

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[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 17-18.

[86] Ibid., p. 17.

[87] Bartram, Travels, pp. [illegible].

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The following from Stiggins may also be included:

"The most prominent and I believe it to be the most uniform feature in their national character which shows itself constantly is in their civility and innocent deportment to each other and especially to a stranger that may travel among them and is sociable and seems to wish to conform to their customs and manners, without being self important or asking too many impertinent questions, which will often disgust them and conclude in bad consequences. . . . [One 'churlish of his eatables'] is termed by them a (nobody). So of all people they are the most tenacious of their reputation in hospitality, for on the entrance of a stranger into one of their huts he is immediately requested to sit down and as an introduction to his acquaintance he is asked his residence, destination, and business. Such questions are so common to them that they are replied to satisfactorily and in a brief manner, and in the meanwhile he is supplied with eatables, which is uniformly done at every house at which he may call. Their provisions bestowed on an acquaintance or stranger are put forth with a welcome which need not be doubted, should it compose the last morsel that they have got, as the provisions they bestow on a man are one of the links of their chief pride, and to doubt his hearty welcome in that case would unutterably hurt his feelings."[88]

Although Romans was no lover of the Creeks his testimony in this particular is equally favorable. He says:

"They are very hospitable and never fail of making a stranger heartily welcome, offering him the pipe as soon as he arrives, while the good women are employed to prepare a dish of venison and homany, with some bread made of maize and flour, and being wraped in maize leaves, baked under the ashes; when it is served up they accompany it with bears fat purified to a perfectly chrystalline oyl, and a bottle of honey with which last article the country abounds, and it is so good a quality, as in my opinion to exceed that of *Calabria* and *Minorca*.

"In the lower nation and the allied tribes, there are many who keep rice by them and have plenty of beef; of all which articles they are profusely liberal, and I believe had they only a single potatoe, they would share it with a stranger. In the fruit season they never fail to accompany these regales with melons, peaches, plums, grapes, or some other wild fruit.

"After the traveller is made welcome by his host, the latter introduces him into the assembly, which is kept every evening at a place called the square, of which we find one in each town. At this place he is entertained with tobacco and cassine drink; this is also the common resort of their old men and warriors to deliberate on matters of peace and war, to judge what steps are to be taken for the welfare

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[88] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 13.

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of the nation, and to decide the fate of their neighbours; so that this square doth not ill answer to the description we have of the Roman *Forum* or Athenian *Areopage;* the evening ends in a dance, which is the common practice every night." [89]

The public welcome extended to visitors from other tribes is perhaps well exemplified in Bartram's account of the way in which he was received by the Oconee chief, called by the British "the Cowkeeper," when he visited him at his town in Florida near Alachua. He says:

"We were welcomed to the town, and conducted by the young men and maidens to the chief's house, which stood on an eminence, and was distinguished from the rest by its superior magnitude, a large flag being hoisted on a high staff at one corner. We immediately alighted: the chief, who is called the Cowkeeper, attended by several ancient men, came to us, and in a very free and sociable manner, shook our hands, or rather arms, (a form of salutation peculiar to the American Indians) saying at the same time, 'You are come.' We followed him to an apartment prepared for the reception of their guests.

"The pipe being filled, it is handed around; after which a large bowl, with what they call, 'thin drink,' [sofki?] is brought in and set down on a small low table. In this bowl is a great wooden ladle; each person takes up in it as much as he pleases, and after drinking until satisfied, returns it again into the bowl, pushing the handle towards the next person in the circle; and so it goes round." [90]

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Attention is called to the shaking of the arms. This was evidently but one form of the usual American Indian greeting by rubbing the body of oneself and the visitor.

When Milfort reached the town of Coweta after traveling westward from the Georgia settlements he was taken to the square ground, given ási to drink, and afterwards conducted to the old men who sat in the cabin on the east side of the square ground, and who were probably isti átcagági. They made him "a speech of welcome" and then an orator made him a long address lasting nearly an hour. At each pause in this address the assembly shouted "Ka" ("Yes"), and at the end all said "Mado" ("Very good" or "thank you")! Afterwards all of the old men marched past him shaking his hands in turn and presenting their tobacco pouches so that he might take a pinch of tobacco from each. And last of all an old man presented him with a tobacco pouch made of swanskin.[91] He adds that this tobacco pouch was white as a sign of peace and friendship, and he claims that his reception had been particularly cordial because

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[89] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 92-93.

[90] Bartram, Travels, p. 182; see also Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 17-18.

[91] Milfort, Mém., pp. 208-209. The shaking of hands was of course a later substitute for rubbing the body.

574 of the affection which the Creek Indians retained for the French nation.[92]

In the following quotation from Stiggins something of the native etiquette and the native psychology associated with these gatherings is shown:

"I have observed among them another trait of national character. In the public meetings whether for black drink or national council the Indians appear studiously to wish to shew an importance in themselves and an independence of character for they will perceptibly assume a grave, sedate, consequential deportment, especially their chiefs, and head men. They would appear for a while to a bystander to be careless of all nature and each other. At length nature seems to predominate and shew their true disposition. When they commence smoking the spell seems to be removed for after a few draws of smoke from their pipe they cordially hand it to the next with whom it is optional to make use of the contents of the pipe or pass it to the next man, which is frequently done. By a constant repetition of such civilities a familiarity is engendered in the community at large by slow degrees that would not have taken place otherwise, as they seldom have any interesting conversation to impart or attend to with a stranger. [With the latter] it is customary with them to use hesitation. Even should they wish to converse with him they accost each other with studied and manifest civility to which they reciprocally receive an answer equally ceremonious and apposite until an acquaintance takes place."[93]

576 The common Chickasaw greeting as recorded by Adair 150 years ago has been given in translation above. The host said *Ish-la chu?* (*Ishla cho?*), "Are you come?" and the guest replied *Arahre-O* (*Alali-o*), "I am come."[94]

This was similar to the Creek form of salutation. When a Chiaha, for instance, came to visit a Coweta, the two towns being close friends, the latter would say, "My big friend (ȧnhisi łȧko), are you come?" and the Chiaha would reply "Yes, I am come." If the Coweta were the visitor the formula was the same, and it was the same if the two individuals belonged to another pair of friendly towns such as Kasihta and Tȧlwȧ łȧko. What greetings passed between men of opposing towns I have not heard.

The following greetings were in use among the Alabama in Texas. *Boso' tcika'noso'*, "howdy, are you good?" or *boso* alone, to which the reply was *tcȧkā'noso'*, "I am well." Another was *ticihoke'po'*, "you are not sick," and the reply *tcahoke'pobe'*, "I am not at all sick." Another was *tci'matiksahȧme'*, "how are your family?" Reply, *oi-hat hokā'nobe'*, "they are all well." Another: *isnapo'*, "how are you?" Reply, *tcȧkā'nobe'*, "I am well." The first two are the oldest forms.

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[92] Milfort, Mém., p. 211. [93] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 20. [94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 60.

Adair and Swan both remark on the apparent coldness exhibited by a married couple on meeting after a long separation. Adair says: 593

"I shall give an instance of this [incapability for lasting affection]. If the husband has been a year absent on a visit to another nation, and should by chance overtake his wife near home, with one of his children skipping along side of her; instead of those sudden and strong emotions of joy that naturally arise in two generous breasts at such an unexpected meeting, the self-interested pair go along as utter strangers, without seeming to take the least notice of one another, till a considerable time after they get home." [illegible]

Swan says:

"When a man meets his wife and children, after the absence of some months, in which time she has not heard a word from him, it is with a perfect seeming indifference. Perhaps the first word spoken will be—So, you have got back again, I see. He answers—Yes. She may then reply—Momuscha [Mohmistca]—i. e., Very well—and there ends the conversation. The man reserves the tale of his adventures, to be told to his other friends over a cup of black drink the next morning, at the square; and there it is retailed, in a tedious, circumlocutory conversation of many hours." [illegible]

As I have explained in another connection this "coldness" was principally etiquette and custom rather than native character.

The terms for "husband" and "wife" were not used by a married couple, because it was thought a married pair were too nearly connected to employ anything so formal. If they had to use any expression it would be "my old man" or "my old woman."

A man would not speak to his mother-in-law nor a woman to her father-in-law, or vice versa. They communicated through the wife or the husband. One of these tabooed couples would go a long way around to avoid meeting the other, and it was thought that if they did speak to each other or even touch each other they would itch all over. In speaking about such a person the other used the dual number. This information was obtained particularly from the Alabama in Texas. Chickasaw custom was about the same. 606

The usage may have differed among the constituent tribes of the Confederacy, however, for one of the best living authorities on old Creek customs (1924) declares that there was no regulation of "bashfulness" in force between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and that the only time when the latter avoided his mother-in-law was for about a week before and a week after his marriage because he was actually bashful.

If the Indians have friendly dealings with you they always want to associate you with them in some way, particularly by giving you sofki or other food, as has happened several times in my own case. 571

[illegible] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.

[illegible] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274-275.

571 I have been told that a Creek woman would never cut off a piece of tobacco for a man but would always bite it off, while she would cut off a piece for herself and never bite it. The cutting off of tobacco was thought to imply the severance of friendship. I have been
572 unable to confirm this. Friendships of the kind common among Indian tribes generally outside of all blood or other natural affiliations were frequently struck up and were cemented by mutual scratching. Swan says:

"Scratching is also practised among young warriors, as a ceremony or token of friendship. When they have exchanged promises of inviolable attachment, they proceed to scratch each other before they part. This is more frequently done in drunken frolics than any other time. After a rum-drinking, numbers of them appear covered with blood, and lacerated from their shoulders down to their heels. Such marks of friendship are indelible, and effectually remind them of their friendly promise so long as they live."[87]

571 The southern tribes had the usual Indian dread of ridicule and the usual willingness to indulge in it at anyone's expense, even at times when pity and sympathy would appear more in order. Says Adair: "If the Indians saw their grandmother break her neck by a fall from a horse, or any other accident, they would whoop and halloo."[88]

Yet ridicule was seldom carried far. Stiggins says:

"To my knowledge they are not a people to utter a remark or word to hurt the feelings of any one, without they would be in a state of intoxication, for should they press a joke even on a friend or acquaintance so far as to be disagreeable and likely to ruffle his temper they will immediately surcease, apologize, and withhold, and it rarely happens to hear one of them at any time reflect on the conduct or reputation of another. If there should be a man of general bad
[626] repute [the matter] will be taken up and related by one of their miccos without pointing out any person in particular, but [he will] lay open the ill consequences in any person of such, and such, ill conduct. His comments would be more pointed and acrimonious should there be an instance of a person in the town so churlish of his eatables as to be inhospitable to one of their own people, [and] especially to a traveling stranger."[89]

TRADE

439 The standards of value to be presently discussed show that trade was developed even in pre-Columbian times. The inland tribes could furnish mica, copper, pipe stone, flint for arrows, and angelica roots, while the coast tribes had sea shells, dry fish, *Ilex vomitoria*, and salt. This last commodity was also obtained from the trans-Missis-

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[87] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 286.

[89] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 16.

sippi tribes by those on the eastern side. When Bartram was on the Suwanee River, Fla., he learned that the Indians of that region went trading and hunting in their cypress canoes all along the coast as far as the southern end of Florida and even to Havana. He himself encountered a party which had just returned from the latter place. He states that they carried thither in trade "deer skins, furs, dry fish, bees-wax, honey, bear's oil, and some other articles."[1] Elsewhere he notes that the same articles, minus the dry fish, were traded to the American settlers and several Indians had become very well to do in consequence of this industry.[2] The following from Swan shows how and where they obtained their firearms at the end of the eighteenth century. 439

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"The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The chief has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

"If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting: a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or $50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country."[3]

That some of the Indians of this tribe readily took to trading is reiterated by Romans, who says: "There are few towns in this nation where there is not some savage residing, who either trades of his own flock, or is employed as a factor."[4] 438

COUNTING

The Muskhogean systems of numeration are all decimal. In Adair's time the Chickasaw figured out mercantile transactions on the ground, a system which they called yakâ-ne Tlápha,[5] or "scoring on the ground."[6] They made single marks for each unit and a cross for 10. Adair believed that this latter mark was borrowed from the whites, but I have seen computations by the northwest coast peoples in which straight marks are used for units and a cross inserted to mark off every 20 units, the system of notation being vigesimal with them. The cross in the south may have been used for the same purpose in marking off tens. It is to be added that Adair's statements are confirmed by Eakins.[7] Eakins also says that they used 802

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[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 225.

[2] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 30.

[3] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 263.

[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 95-96.

[5] Yakni lapa, "ground spread out."

[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 77.

[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

802 their fingers in counting from one decimal to another.[8] One of my Creek informants in using his fingers to aid his memory began with the little finger of his left hand, which he doubled over, and followed with his other fingers in order. Then he passed to his right hand where he again began with the little finger and proceeded as before.

804 Measures of length were based on various parts of the body, as was originally the case with us, the fingers, hands, arms, etc., being used.

Distances between places far apart were measured by the time consumed in getting from one to the other—i. e., by the number of camps or "sleeps" or by the number of moons. Regarding their 805 sense of the passage of time generally Swan has the following very pertinent remarks:

"They count the number of days or years, either past or to come, by tens. Having no exact method of keeping or reckoning their time they seldom tell nearer than within one month of the time any remarkable occurrence took place in the preceding year; but circumstances, or any speeches that might have attended such occurrence, they remember accurately. There is not one in the whole nation knows how old he is."[9]

The natural measures of time marked off by the altered positions of the sun and moon—i. e., days, months, and years, and their subdivisions—have already been discussed. When they wished to keep in mind a certain number of these or to remember certain ones among them they employed several devices.

805 211 The commonest method of determining a fixed date in the future upon which some event was to take place was by wrapping up a number of short sticks into a little bundle and throwing one away each day. When but one remained the person who had the bundle knew that the appointed day had arrived. This was the method employed every year to enable all of the families of each town to assemble on the busk ground at the proper date. As many bundles were distributed as there were families and the head of each family threw away the sticks. It is to be noted that a stick was thrown away immediately on receipt of the bundle—i. e., the count began with the day on which the bundle was received; in fact the messenger who brought the bundle usually threw away the first stick himself. This is said by French writers to have been the method by which the date of the Natchez massacre was fixed, and the tribes confederate to the conspiracy were able to tell when to rise. Such sticks were called "the broken days," and according to Adair the same name was applied to certain square notched sticks which were used for a similar purpose. In the latter case the sticks were sent about with a definite

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[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

[9] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277.

number of notches in them and each day the man in charge cut one 805
notch out. At other times notches were made instead of being cut 211
out, especially when the future date was indefinite.[10] I have seen this method employed on the north Pacific coast. Eakins saw still another method in use among the Creeks in recording the days of the week. This consisted of a series of holes made in a board into which a peg was inserted.[11]

A third and particularly important method is mentioned by Adair. It was the use of cords on which were a definite number of knots. The time was determined by untying one of these knots each day, or perhaps by tying it, similarly to the usage in the case of notches. They employed all these devices not merely to keep run of the days but of the months and years as well, and Adair says of the last: "They count certain very remarkable things, by knots of various colours and make, after the manner of the South-American Aborigines."[12] Of course Adair is referring to the famous quipu of Peru, and it is very interesting to find that our southern tribes had a similar mnemonic system, especially as he implies that this was used to some extent to mark important events in past history. Adair's statement also serves to confirm an analogous assertion by Milfort, except that, according to the latter, beads strung on threads took the place of knots. Still there is no good reason why both devices should not have been employed. The idea once established would have seized upon any convenient means of expression. Milfort's statement runs thus:

"Since my arrival among the Creeks the old chiefs had often spoken 211
to me of their ancestors, and they had shown me the belts (banderoles), or species of chaplets, which contained their histories. These chaplets were their archives; they are of little seeds like those which are called Cayenne pearls; they are of different colors and strung in rows; and it is on their arrangement and their pattern that their meaning depends. As only the principal events are preserved on these belts and without any details, it sometimes happens that a single chaplet contains the history of twenty to twenty-five years. These pearls are placed in such a manner as to preserve the various periods exactly; and each year is easily distinguished by those who know the arrangement."[13]

It furthermore appears from the speech of Chekilli to Governor 212
Oglethorpe painted on a bison skin[14] that pictorial mnemonics or "picture writing" was known.

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[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 75.

[11] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 273.

[12] Adair, op. cit., p. 75.

[13] Milfort, Mémoire, pp. 47-48. Such devices were in use also among the tribes of the Carolinas and Virginia.

[14] See p. 23.

212 These facts all tend to show that the Creeks anciently had made some endeavors to record their history and serve to strengthen our respect for certain of the features of their migration legends. It will also prevent us from dismissing as an altogether idle tale De la Vente's assertion that the Natchez had preserved a record of 45 or 50 of their Great Suns.[15] At the best the attempts were, of course, crude, but in Peru the device of the quipu seems to have preserved a great amount of extremely valuable history extending to a remote antiquity.

436 Before white contact value was measured by means of shell money, but we have not from the southern Indians as full an account of this as from the northern Indians. The following from Adair contains nearly all that we know about it:

"Before we supplied them with our European beads, they had great quantities of wampum; (the Buccinum of the ancients) made out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking. With these they bought and sold at a stated current rate, without the least variation for circumstances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loss or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reasons ever so strong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-skins was the price of a large conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's fore-finger; which they fixed to the crown of their head, as an high ornament—so greatly they valued them." [16]

GAMES

526 As with so many other American tribes, the two-goal ball game, resembling in many respects that known as lacrosse, was the leading game among southern Indians. I will begin an account of it by prefixing Adair's description as he witnessed it among the Chickasaw, though the Creek game as it has come down to us differed in several important particulars. He says:

[525] "The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game; and is such severe exercise, as to shew it was originally calculated for a hardy and expert race of people, like themselves, and the ancient Spartans. The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews. The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thongs. Between these, they catch the ball, and throw it a great distance, when not prevented by some of the opposite party, who fly to intercept them. The goal is about

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[15] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., vol. I, p. 37.

[16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 170. Cf. also Lawson, Hist. Car., pp. 315-317. The use of the term "wampum" here is erroneous; wampum was of a wholly different type.

five hundred yards in length: at each end of it, they fix two long bending poles into the ground, three yards apart below, but slanting a considerable way outwards. The party that happens to throw the ball over these, counts one; but, if it be thrown underneath, it is cast back, and played for as usual. The gamesters are equal in number on each side; and, at the beginning of every course of the ball, they throw it up high in the center of the ground, and in a direct line between the two goals. When the crowd of players prevents the one who catches the ball, from throwing it off with a long direction, he commonly sends it the right course, by an artful sharp twirl. They are so exceedingly expert in this manly exercise, that, between the goals, the ball is mostly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing sticks, without falling to the ground, for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. It is surprising to see how swiftly they fly, when closely chased by a nimble footed pursuer; when they are intercepted by one of the opposite party, his fear of being cut by the ball sticks, commonly gives them an opportunity of throwing it perhaps a hundred yards; but the antagonist sometimes runs up behind, and by a sudden stroke dashes down the ball. It is a very unusual thing to see them act spitefully n any sort of game, not even in this severe and tempting exercise. 526

"Once, indeed, I saw some break the legs and arms of their opponents, by hurling them down, when on a descent, and running at full speed. But I afterward understood, there was a family dispute of long continuance between them: that might have raised their spleen, as much as the high bets they had then at stake, which was almost all they were worth. The Choktah are exceedingly addicted to gaming, and frequently on the slightest and most hazardous occasions, will lay their all, and as much as their credit can procure.

"By education, precept, and custom, as well as strong example, they have learned to shew an external acquiescence in every thing that befalls them, either as to life or death. By this means, they reckon it a scandal to the character of a steady warrior to let his temper be ruffled by any accidents,—their virtue they say, should prevent it. . . . To move the deity to enable them to conquer the party they are to play against, they mortify themselves in a surprising manner; and, except a small intermission, their female relations dance out of doors all the preceding night, chanting religious notes with their shrill voices, to move *Yo He Wah*[17] to be favourable to their kindred party, on the morrow. The men fast and wake from sunset, till the ball play is over the next day, which is about one or two o'clock in the afternoon. During the whole night, they [578 are to forbear sleeping under the penalty of reproaches and shame; which would sit very sharp upon them, if their party chanced to lose the game, as it would be ascribed to that unmanly and vicious conduct. They turn out to the ball ground, in a long row, painted white, whooping, as if Pluto's prisoners were all broke loose: when that enthusiastic emotion is over, the leader of the company begins a religious invocation, by saying *Yah*, short; then *Yo* long, which the rest of the train repeat with a short accent, and on a low key like the leader: and thus they proceed with such acclamations and invocations, as have been already noticed, on other occasions. Each party are desirous to gain the twentieth ball, which they esteem a favourite divine gift. As it is in the time of laying by the corn, in the very heat of summer, they use this severe exercise, a stranger would wonder to see them hold it so long at full speed, and under the scorching sun, hungry also, and faint with the excessive use of such sharp physic as the button snake root, the want of natural rest, and of every kind of nourishment. But their constancy, which they gain by custom, and their love of virtue, as the sure means of success, enable them to perform all their exercises, without failing in the least, be they ever so severe in the pursuit."[18]

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[17] Adair is reverting again to his favorite theory that these meaningless syllables had reference to the Jehovah of the Hebrews, from which people he believed the American Indians were descended.

The Chickasaw ball stick as here described differs considerably from that of the Creeks and was probably like the one used by the Choctaw. The goal was also arranged very differently. The fullest account of a Creek game given by early writers is from Pope, in the case of an actual contest witnessed by him. It is as follows:

. . . "He [Alexander McGillivray] invited me to a Ball-Match, about 10 miles from his house, between two Townships. Sixty-two alert young Fellows were selected from each Town. The Goals were set up about a quarter of a Mile apart, near the Center of an extensive Campaign or Prairie.—They consist of two blazed Saplings fixed in the Ground about 10 Feet asunder at either End, thro' which every Time either Party throws the Ball with their Rackets, they are entitled to count one—The Number of the Game is arbitrary.—Midway between the Goals, the Ball is thrown up alternately by two old Men, who are mutually chosen by the contending Parties to decide all Controversies which may arise in the course of the Game—Upon throwing up the Ball a violent Struggle ensues between the Parties which sometimes lasts 8 or 10 Minutes, before either Side can give it a cast; and when they do, there are others of their Opponents ready to intercept and give it an adverse Direction.—On this Game Property to a very considerable Amount is generally risqued, consisting of Broaches, Bracelets, Gorgets, Medals, paints, Arms and Ammunition piled up in a pyramidal Form. Sometimes their whole Family Stock of Food and Raiment is hazzarded.—A dislocated Joint or Fractured

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[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 399-401.

Bone is not uncommon: Suffer what they may, you'll never see an angry look or hear a threatening Word among them. 526

"The Players divest themselves of all their Cloaths, except their Flaps. They ingeniously disguise themselves with various coloured Paints and assume the Semblance of Rattle-Snakes entwin'd. Spiral Streaks of *red*, *white* and *blue*, alternately adorn their other Parts.—The vanquished Party immediately upon the Conclusion of the Game, betake themselves to their Heels, in Order to avoid the Scoffs and Ridicule of their boastful Conquerors."[19]

It will be noticed that the goals described here agree somewhat with those mentioned by Adair, both differing from the modern goals in having no crossbar at the top. Bartram speaks as if there were but one "pillar" at each end to which the ball was carried by the opposing party.[20] This is the style in vogue at the present day among the Choctaw of Mississippi. In the first section of the present paper some further information regarding the ball game will be found.[20a]

Under another heading I have said a great deal about the social significance of the ball game and I have explained that the regular games were played only between towns belonging to the two opposite fires. I have also given the traditional origin—or a traditional origin—of these encounters—i. e., as a substitute for war. In common parlance it was often called "the brother of the war." The social divisions concerned in the ball game have been treated at length. Among the Texas Alabama, in which the older organization has been long broken down, various other ways of dividing up were resorted to. One of the prominent men among the Yuchi assured me that one of the oldest divisions in that tribe was between the men who had children and those who had none. 526 619

To frame the ball sticks pieces of hickory were tapered off, steamed and turned over at the ends, to the right for a right-handed player and to the left for a left-handed man, after which the ends were bound over on the handle. Two buckskin cords were then run across each opening and fastened through small holes made with an awl, thus furnishing a cage for the ball. Lard was next heated, and rubbed at the base of each loop. The loops were then inserted into a crack in a wall or floor and bent sideways a trifle so that the player could hold the ball between the two sticks. I was told that the makers of these sticks did not fast while at work but that after they were done medicine was put on them. The ball was made exactly as described by Adair, of deer hair covered with a piece of dressed deerskin tied by means of deerskin thongs. The ball sticks formerly 526

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[19] Pope, Tour, pp. [illegible]-61. For another printed account see "Narrative of a Mission to the Creek Nation," by Col. Marinus Willett, pp. [illegible], copied into Pickett's History of Alabama, pp. [illegible], and Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, pp. [illegible].

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. [illegible].

[20a] See pp. [illegible].

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used by the Choctaw and Chickasaw were not as powerful as the Creek ball sticks.

As has already been stated, in games between the Whites and Tcilokis the former wore white crane feathers in their hair and the latter eagle feathers. They had no other clothing in olden times except the breechclout and moccasins. Fastened over the breechclout behind was often a "tiger tail." It was used because this animal is strong and courageous. If the father of a player had belonged to the Panther clan that would be an additional reason for selecting it. A bison tail, and eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers were also used because they belonged to "masterful animals." I am told that the paint had no significance except that red was generally used as representing war, the ball game being "brother of the war." Nevertheless, I believe that in ancient times the paintings did sometimes have significance. If the other adornments were adopted with the idea of assisting the player there is every reason to suppose that the paintings would sometimes be put on with the same object in view. The following account of the manner in which a regular match game was conducted was given me by Jackson Lewis.

Each party calls the other itc inkipaí'a, and each person so names one who always opposes him in the ball play. In proposing a game a messenger from one town goes to the chief of another and says, "Here is a proposition to engage you in a game," upon which he lays down a ball stick with a feather tied to it. The chief then calls his people together, especially those who are interested in the game, and says: "We are challenged by our well-known opponents. What are you going to do?" Then they count noses to see whether they have enough expert ball players to stand a contest. If they decide that they can do so they send word back "We will try you one game." Then each town selects four contract makers who meet at some appointed place midway between the towns to arrange the terms of the contest. They agree when to play, where to play, but above all who are to play on each side—i. e., whether the men married into both towns are to play, the men married out and living elsewhere, etc. One side says "We will play our sons-in-law," which another will object to, saying. "No, but we will play our sons," etc. The referees on both sides are very sharp to see that no advantage is yielded to the enemy. Finally they settle upon the terms or else call the game off. In each party of four chosen to make the contract there must always be one man of the Bear clan.[21] Although the contract makers do not agree to have wrestling when the young men are going into a contest the old men will say to them, "You are now privileged to treat your opponents in any way you choose." Wrestling is called ikán wá'kita, "lying down on the ground." Now, after both towns have encamped in the neighborhood of the place selected, the eight referees agree upon the precise plot of ground upon which it shall be played. The people of each town fell trees and lay the logs round their camps for the spectators to sit upon while the ball dance is held. The spectators sit in a semicircle. The dancing is carried on almost entirely by the women, though there is some dancing by the men. After the women have danced four times to songs sung by the others they retire to a distance, and those who have been selected to play take their ball sticks, and rush out, yelling, whooping, running around, and making hideous shouts. This is called ya'hkita. The drum is beaten during all of this time. This whole performance is repeated four times during the night, and it takes until midnight or a little longer. The players have the ball they expect to use next day tied to a twig and the twig set in the ground with the end directed toward the camp of their opponents "much as cannon are trained on the enemy." After the dance the women retire, while the men may sit around in their seats until daylight when the game begins. That time having come they cut down a sapling 12 to 16 feet high and about 6 inches thick, and split it in two.

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[21] This statement applies particularly to Upper Eufaula.

They carry this from the place where they have been dancing to their end of the selected ball ground. Then they agree about the distance apart of the two goals which is generally from 150 to 200 yards. There they dig holes and set the two pieces upright about 3 to 3½ feet apart. Across the top they put a crosspiece. After the goals have been set up the players on each side go up to the median line and throw their sticks down so that they match each other, the end of each stick on one side being directly opposite the end of a stick on the other side. This is to show that the number of players is exactly even on each side. Meanwhile the players jest with one another, and all kinds of things are wagered by the men and women of both parties. All the details are fixed in advance. Then three places are marked off, one exactly half way between the goals, the two others half way from the center to each goal. Each side divides its players into parties, placing one in the center, one at each of the midway points, and one near each goal. Finally a person steps to the center and throws the ball up into the air about 10 feet, whereupon all the players rush in, and each tries to throw it toward his own goal. The struggle now rages furiously. Two persons are appointed, one from each side, who sit midway between the goals. Each is provided with 10 sticks, and when a point is made by one side the representative of that side sticks one of his sticks into the ground. After all 10 are stuck in they begin to withdraw them until the representative of one side has withdrawn all, making 20 points, when the side he represents wins, and the scorers say Hătitŏ'tŏtŏ', "He is dead, dead, dead, dead." Then the winners run to their

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goal and whoop and rush around it raising the samɔ ya'hki'a. As many play on each side as the eight referees agree upon, sometimes as many as 60. The game sometimes lasted till dark unless it broke up in a fight. Meanwhile each side has a medicine man back in the woods making medicine as hard as he can for his own side. Any doctor may be selected, but they are so suspicious that only one of whose sympathies they are certain is likely to be chosen. Jackson Lewis was once induced to make medicine for the Indians of a Choctaw town, and he sent them some medicine to rub on their bodies. They were successful, the opposing side making but one goal.

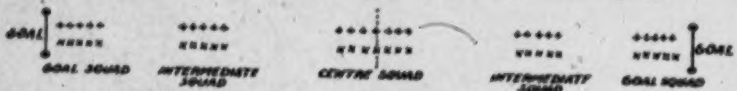

FIG. 104.—Arrangement of players at the opening of the Creek ball game

The following notes, furnished by Zachariah Cook, supplement the foregoing in many important particulars:

The sides pair off as indicated in the accompanying sketch (fig. 104), each party facing the other and occupying one side all the way along. If the ball goes under the crossbar of the goal and between the side posts it counts, or if it hits the posts or crossbar, no matter from which side thrown. Each side has previously provided itself with a medicine ball, called "a chief ball," inside of which is a measuring worm, because that is a worm supposedly invisible to a bird, and so the ball will not be seen by the other party.[26a] After either side has made its third goal it can use this ball to make its fourth; that having been accomplished, they go on playing with a common ball. Behind the goal post is a dish in which is a piece of the hide of a bull turtle and some medicine. The ball is supposed to be attracted to the dish like a turtle to the water. They also paint medicine on the ball stick strings so as to attract the ball to them. For these things they depend entirely on the medicine maker (hilis-haya) and follow his directions, but who is making the medicine for them is kept a secret. The ball posts are only conjured a little just after they are cut. The medicine maker also prepares a medicine out of the track of a wolf and the burrow of a crawfish to rub on the shoulders of the players.

The first ball to be thrown up is not by the regular ball throwers, but by the best speaker they can find who gives a talk first, counselling fair play, etc., and then throws the ball, saying, "Here goes up a ball for twenty stakes." Afterwards the regular throwers are used, one from each side.

The man representing the side that challenges begins. The paints that were put on their bodies were only for ornament. There

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[26a] It seems that part of a "[illegible] nest" was also an efficient medicine to be used in this manner. See p. [illegible].

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is a man at each goal to see that the goals are made fairly, and two men on each side (called mádjokálgi) to umpire and keep order. They tell the players to play hard without fighting. Sometimes they have four of these men on a side. There is also one scorer for each side, each provided with a number of broken sticks. Each scores for his own side, sticking one stick after another in the ground until there are 10 and then withdrawing them until all of the sticks belonging to one side are out.

If any one gets knocked out in play they even up again by throwing down their ball sticks opposite each other to be sure that neither side has an advantage. The players wear red fringes around their necks, and cows' tails, panthers' tails, and bison tails on their buttocks. They run with the ball or throw it, whichever way will advance the ball fastest. When they are through, the winning side marches around its goal, goes home, and has a "stomp dance." The others may set a time and hold a "stomp dance" afterwards.

A man had to play on the side of his own town even against the people of the town into which he had married, but if he lived in a third town not involved in the game, he could join the town that asked him first. This, therefore, gave a man an opportunity to play on the side opposite that of his proper town, but in olden times it is probable that it did not happen very often. When preparing for the ball game at Tcatoksofka the town chief talked the players over with one heniha (of the Wind clan) and one man of the Raccoon clan, or sometimes he consulted two members of each clan. According to Zachariah Cook, at Tukabahchee there were two men known as imagálgi who divided up the men or else called upon some experienced men to do it for them. Two mikági had charge of the women's dance. Although Jackson Lewis speaks of the place where the contest was to be held as being agreed upon in advance by the eight men who arranged it, this was not done finally until just before the game, each side fearing lest the opponents should bewitch it. This was given me as the reason why it was not known where the Talahasutci and Łiwahali Seminole were going to play in the summer of 1913. When the wife of a ball player was pregnant the doctor prepared a medicine for him different from that taken by the others. The middle ground, half way between the ball posts, was called wáskita; and each station halfway between that point and either goal was known as nálkáptkā′ga. The side which threw through one goal called the other party fûlûdjī and vice versa. It is asserted that there was little or no fighting in olden times during the ball game, and this assertion is borne out by what the older writers tell us—although legs and arms were sometimes broken in the scrimmages—but in recent years it has been almost impossible to play a game through without a free fight. A game between the Nuyaka and Łapláko towns ended

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526 578 177 this way, and the same fate befell one started between the Eufaula and Abihka towns. In the latter case the very first time the ball was thrown up a free fight began which lasted three hours, and, according to report, the county sheriff and his deputies were utterly unable to stop it.

526 Sometimes the parties to a ball game had to march some distance to reach the place agreed upon for the encounter. When that was the case they would go by easy stages, hold a rally in the evening, the night before, and dance all night. I have one account which states that they held such a dance the first evening, reached the place appointed the next day, held another dance there, and then began the game. A great amount of property was wagered on the outcome of one of these games by both men and women, who whould even strip clothing off of their bodies for that purpose.

It is to be observed that the Indian attitude with reference to the goals is just opposite to that taken by white men in their games, for with us the idea is to drive the ball through the enemy's goal, but the Indian considered that he was bringing the ball home to his own goal.

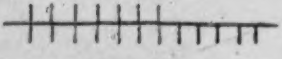

Fig. 105.—Alabama method of recording scores in the ball game

526 802 Among the Texas Alabama the method of counting points was different from that used by the Creeks, but it was probably a later innovation. There a straight line was drawn and transverse marks made on one side of this for one party and on the other side for the other party, twelve constituting the game. Figure 105 will illustrate.

526 788 I will now give an account of a practice game between Łapłako Indians witnessed by myself in 1913. We drove from Wetumka Sunday afternoon, July 27, and found the Indians seated on logs around the dance ground while the medicine maker at the other end was blowing into the medicine (pl. 7, *b*). There were two tubs, each said to contain miko hoyanidja, but each treated differently by the doctor, so that the men drank from both. He did his work very deliberately, sitting motionless for a long time and afterwards taking some time in blowing into the medicine. He probably did this four times, though we did not watch him long enough to be certain. He sat facing the east. After that the yatika made an announcement and all went to the medicine, formed two rows, facing east, and took the medicine in the usual manner, afterwards vomiting it out, though some did not choose to take it (pl. 7, *c*). Before and during this ceremony the chief held in his hand a short stick on the end of which was fastened two balls and a bunch of small sticks. The last were the scoring sticks; the former comprised a large ball with which they were going to play next day and a smaller ball, the "chief ball" above mentioned, used when one side has scored three goals. It is said that each side

526 788 has such a ball but I saw only one. When they went to take medicine each player took his ball sticks and belt down from the rack, on which they were hung in pairs, and when his turn came to take medicine each first poured a little upon these. The chief led and poured a little upon the balls. When all were through and had gotten back to their seats announcement was made that the players would be scratched. This was done on the west side of a large oak tree west of the medicine man's position. Each player in turn placed one hand on the tree and raised one leg at a time to the scratcher who scratched him four times on the back of the calf and four times on the thigh in front just deep enough to draw blood. He was also scratched four times on the upper arms and four times on the lower arms.

Meanwhile the medicine maker was treating more medicine, water having been brought by water boys, and soon after the scratching was completed they took medicine again. Previously, a number of boys had been sent to get wood for the fire to be built up that night, although a fire had been smoldering in the middle of the dance ground all the afternoon. After they had taken medicine for the last time the fire was poked up a little. The yatika, who was a Tukabahchee Indian, now made a short speech, when all ran and got their ball sticks, and marched around a little tree that had been set up near the medicine. After circling about it a few times they filed off to the stream and bathed. Some time later they came back and were dismissed to supper with another short speech. After supper they danced the "old dance" four times when the dance became free to all, both men and women joining in. Dancing continued almost all night.

526 On the day of the ball game, July 28, 1913, we reached the grounds about 8 a. m. The two sides were already made up. After waiting to see that all were present, each side went off by itself and held a council. Then each leader made a speech and they filed off to dress for the game. Presently they came back, part retaining their "store clothes," part wearing only the breechclout and belt with perhaps a feather in the hair. One or two had red paint on their faces and at least one wore a tiger tail strapped straight up along his back. Each party walked to its own goal and circled about it for a few minutes, shouting. Then they lined up across the center and after some parley threw down their sticks opposite each other to see that the numbers were even. Then they went to their appointed places, the ball was thrown up, and the game began. The sides were called simply "East" (hasosa) and "West" (akalatka) and the two scorers, each marking up for one side, sat on the south side of the grounds. As the game proceeded the enthusiasm increased, the rival sides shout-

526 ing "hasosa," "akalatka." The game lasted from about 9 until 10.30 and ended in favor of the west side by a score of 20 to 16.

Another very ancient game was called by white traders the chunkey game and gave its name to the chunk yards of Creek towns, later devoted solely to the single stick game to be described presently. The chunkey, although once extremely popular, could be played by but few persons on a side and never had the significance, so far as we know, of the game already considered. It has now passed out of use so completely as barely to be remembered, but there are several accounts of it by those French writers who tell us of the tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley,[22] and Adair has the following excellent description:

"The warriors have another favourite game, called *Chungke;* which, with propriety of language, may be called 'Running hard labour.' They have near their state house, a square piece of ground well cleaned, and fine sand is carefully strewed over it, when requisite, to promote a swifter motion to what they throw along the surface. Only one, or two on a side, play at this ancient game. They have a stone about two fingers broad at the edge, and two spans round: each party has a pole of about eight feet long, smooth, and tapering at each end, the points flat. They set off a-breast of each other at six yards from the end of the play ground; then one of them hurls the stone on its edge, in as direct a line as he can, a considerable distance toward the middle of the other end of the square: when they have ran a few yards, each darts his pole anointed with bear's oil, with a proper force, as near as he can guess in proportion to the motion of the stone, that the end may lie close to the stone—when this is the case, the person counts two of the game, and, in proportion to the nearness of the poles to the mark, one is counted, unless by measuring, both are found to be at an equal distance from the stone. In this manner, the players will keep running most part of the day, at half speed, under the violent heat of the sun, staking their silver ornaments, [525] their nose, finger, and ear rings; their breast, arm, and wrist plates, and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their middle. All the American Indians are much addicted to this game, which to us appears to be a task of stupid drudgery: it seems however to be of early origin, when their fore-fathers used diversions as simple as their manners. The hurling stones they use at present, were time immemorial rubbed smooth on the rocks, and with prodigious labour; they are kept with the strictest religious care, from one generation to another, and are exempted from being buried with the dead. They belong to the town where they are used, and are carefully preserved."[23]

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[22] See Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 90-91.

[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 401-402.

At the present time the game next in importance to the one first described is the single pole game. Every square ground is supplemented with a circular area having a single pole 25 to 30 feet high in the middle. This circular area is all that is left of the old chunkey yard already described. Sometimes there is a sacred yard and pole not used in actual games, a second pole in another place being devoted to the play. The games here were of a purely social character; I have not heard that any ceremonies or medicine performances accompanied them. They play this game down to the present time, especially on Sundays, and the men and women play against each other, although sometimes the women are allowed to strengthen their forces by choosing two of the best male players. The ball used is similar to that employed in the men's game, and the men are obliged to throw it with their ball sticks, while the women use their hands. As elsewhere described, on the top of the pole is hung a cow's or horse's skull, or a wooden image such as a fish, as in the Fish Pond towns; at Eufaula, an eagle is used. Part way up the pole is a mark and if anyone throws the ball so as to hit the pole above this his or her side scores one, while if it hits the skull or image at the top it scores more, sometimes five. The following is perhaps an older form of counting. If the skull or image is hit it counts one. If the pole above the mark is hit twice in succession by one side it counts one also, but if the side makes one hit and then the other makes one the score of the first is canceled. The whole number of points, as in the case of the men's game, was 20, and scored in the same manner by sticking ten sticks into the ground and then pulling them out again. Jackson Lewis, speaking of an earlier time, said that they generally managed to let the women win, and then the men went after game which the women cooked, the whole ending with a feast and dance. This was evidently in connection with the social feasts more specifically described elsewhere.[23a]

Hitchcock gives the following lively picture of a game which he witnessed in the Creek country in 1842:

"The players mingle, or scatter about as they please, the men on one side of the game and the women on the other aided by a few men. The men use sticks, the women their hands. The chief throws the ball up nearly vertically, standing near the pole,—the game has commenced. All rush to sieze the ball, men and women pell mell together. One gets it. His party tries to give him an opportunity of throwing it. The opposite party, to embarrass him, rush on him, catch his arm, and in the whirl he loses the ball. Another rush. A woman gets it. She holds it firmly in one hand and walks towards the pole followed and surrounded by men and women. She is about to throw it. A ball stick is interposed over her. She

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[23a] See pp. 404, [illegible].

526 sees one of her own side a little way off and tosses the ball to her. The latter catches it and, throwing it instantly, hits the pole. There is a general scream and one point is marked to the women's side. The ball is taken and thrown up as before, and again the play is all life. A man bearing the ball is pursued. He rushes along with it in his sticks with his arms extended upward, strikes his foot against an obstacle, and falls to the ground headlong, losing the ball. There is a loud laugh and a general rush after the ball. A woman is near it. The ball is rolling on. She leans forward. She thinks she can reach it by throwing herself at full length on the ground, and doing so, reaches forward to grasp it but misses it and it is seized by another. And thus the play proceeds."[24]

It is perhaps to the above game that Le Moyne refers when he says, in describing a game of the Florida Indians: "In the middle of an open space is set up a tree some eight or nine fathoms high, with a square frame woven of twigs on the top; this is to be hit with the ball, and he who strikes it first gets a prize." This description is accompanied by a picture showing such a pole,[25] but it is of doubtful reliability. This game is at least as old as the time of Adair.[25a]

In later times the Creek men and women also played against each other in a kind of game of football. Two goals were made, each of two sticks inclining to a point at a height of about 4 feet. The game was to drive the ball through these goals. It was thrown up in the middle and the men were allowed only to kick it while the women might use their hands also.

They also pitched arrows against each other. If the arrow of one player touched the feather of the other's arrow he kept it.

525 Both the Creeks of Oklahoma and the Alabama of Texas remember a game played with four pieces of cane, each half of a section made by splitting the cane lengthwise. This was primarily a women's game but men sometimes played it also. The canes were thrown into the air by each player in turn and the points determined by counting the number of canes with the convex and the concave sides up. Among the Alabama the following system of counting was in use. If all of the canes came to rest with their rounded sides up it counted 10; if all came to rest with their concave sides up it counted 5; if three came down concave side up and one convex side up it counted 3; if two were convex and two concave it counted 2; and if three were convex side up and one concave side up it counted 1.

Among the same people these canes were employed in lieu of dice in a game something like pachisi. A board was laid out as in the accompanying figure (fig. 106), sometimes not more than 10 by 15 inches in dimensions, but sometimes designed on a bearskin of a width of 4 feet and a length of 6 or 7 feet. At these latter as many as four men and four women would sometimes play; at the smaller ones, four or five in all. Counters were moved around from the starting point at the middle of the left side to the same point again. To pass the place marked "5" five points were needed, and four of these points, the four in the corners, had a special name, saktciyi, "crawfish feet."

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[24] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[25] Le Moyne, Narr., p. 13 (ill.).

[25a] See p. 551.

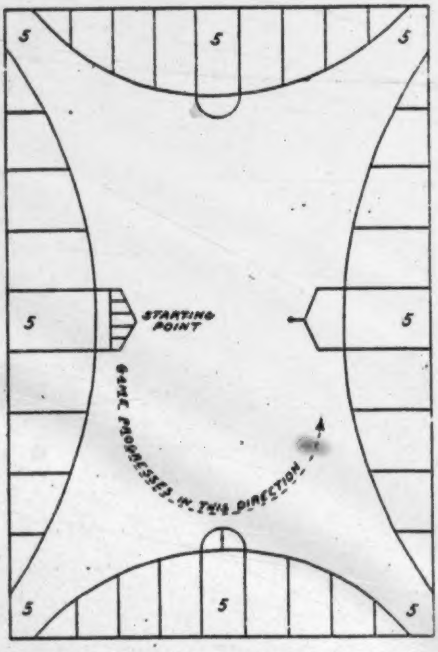

FIG. 106.—Design marked upon a bear skin in preparation for an Alabama game resembling pachisi

The game of "hiding the bullet," elsewhere known as the "moccasin game," was played with a bullet or buckshot and a number of hats, gloves, etc. Each player was provided with 15 strips of cane of the size of a match. Each tried his hand in turn at concealing the bullet under one of the hats or gloves. As long as the one who guessed failed to find the bullet he continued to pay out cane strips. If he guessed right before all of his canes were gone he took the ones he had lost back. If he found the bullet on one of the first three trials he made four points; if he lost on them he lost four points.

Jackson Lewis told of another game which they used to play by the hour at night. They took a number of grains of corn, gouged out the germinal parts and blackened them. Then they put them into a wide shallow basket known as a tiwa, tossed them up into the air, and let them fall upon the ground. The players bet as to whether there would be more black or more white sides uppermost.

Jackson Lewis also told of a game called Tcato tcâli'tcka, "rolling a stone," sometimes played between drinks at the busk. A large marble was rolled along the narrow excavated path shown in the accompanying diagram (fig. 107) in the endeavor to roll it into one of the five holes in the side of the wider excavation, each of which counts a certain

525 number of points. The hole outside and some distance away counts 10. The marble used was made of the same kind of soapstone as were pipes. This game is referred to by Hawkins, who calls it Thla-chal-litch-cau, [Łi tcálitcka], "roll the bullet."[38]

524 The following is a simple boys' game current among the Alabama for many years but apparently not aboriginal. One boy would make a circular mark on the ground by digging his heel into it and moving his foot around on that as an axis. Then he would take another boy on his back, carry him to the place and drop him there. Then all of the other boys came together and each put a hand on his hair. Each would pretend to pull out hairs, and they would offer them to him as if they were money, telling him to buy such and such things with them. When the last had spoken all ran away and the first boy chased them, catching one after the other until he had caught all. The same thing was repeated over again and again until they got tired.

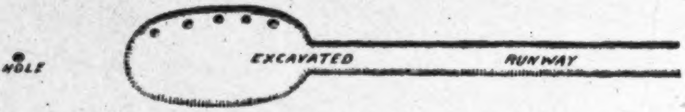

Fig. 107.—Preparation of ground for the Creek game of Tcato tcálitcka

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[38] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.

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[For a tabular list of clans and a comparison and discussion of clanship in this group with that in selected tribes of the Southeast, see 1: Swanton, NN11 Creek, category 116, pp. 114-120.]

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[For seating arrangements at ceremonials in square grounds, see category 621]

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[Descriptions and diagrams of Creek town squares and square-ground buildings are filed in category 344]